NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 11, NO. 11 NEW YORK, DECEMBER 29, 1958

A happy new year to you all

We don't know if this young lady can compete with Boticelli's "Birth of Venus," but for us she makes a fresh young symbol of hope for 1959. And we hope that for all of you the new year will be as nice to look at as she is.

PARIS WAS NEVER LIKE THIS

NATO fails to reply to Soviet on Berlin or heal own wounds

By Kumar Goshal

THE NORTH ATLANTIC Treaty Organization's annual conference in Paris ended on Dec. 20 by shoving all its problems under a rug. Its final communique, the Washington **Post** said, was "one of the most vapid statements on record, [with] no nourishment in it."

Ailing Secy. Dulles had gone to Paris primarily to discuss a NATO reply to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's proposals to make West Berlin a "free city," and to allow the two Germanys to work out reunification without outside interference. Khrushchev had also announced that Soviet troops would be withdrawn from East Berlin next May.

But when he reached Paris, Dulles found Britain at loggerheads (1) with France on European trade; (2) with Greece and Turkey on the status of Cyprus, (3) with Iceland on off-shore limits. He also had to face French Premier—now President—Charles de Gaulle's demand for an Anglo-U.S.-French directorate for NATO. When Dulles left Paris, none of these issues was resolved.

KENNAN'S VIEW: Before the conference opened, thoughtful observers urged NATO to offer constructive counter-proposals to Khruschev. In the **Foreign Affairs Quarterly** (Jan., 1959), former U.S. foreign policy adviser George F. Kennan once again advocated disengagement in Central Europe. Early this year, renouncing the policy of containment he had put forward 12 years before, Kennan had predicted a Berlin crisis.

In **Foreign Affairs** he dismissed the possibility of "simple unilateral Soviet retirement from Eastern Europe which the present Western position appears to demand." He held that the West had to accept something like Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki's plan to relax tensions in Central Europe or pay a "bitter price" for dismissing all Soviet statements as "just propaganda."

Kennan said the Khrushchev proposals should be taken seriously; that elements of a reasonable compromise were "actually present in the realities of the European situation, however deeply they may be buried beneath all the mutual fears and inhibitions and all the confusions of the atomic rivalry." "In what may be a moment of utmost gravity in our history and the history of the world," he urged American statesmanship "to test and exhaust every last possibilty . . . for the peaceful resolution" of East-West differences.

PLEASE COME BACK: Writing in a similar vein, columnist Walter Lippmann deplored Dulles' "purely defensive" position, which left the initiative entirely with Khrushchev. He wondered what the West can possibly do when Soviet troops leave East Berlin, since "it will

(Continued on Page 9)

In this issue

HOW BRINKS PAY OFF
U.S. economy today . . . p. 3
RIGHT TO TRAVEL
New fight looms . . . . . . p. 3
ORANGE DYE BANNED
High Court rules . . . . . . p. 5
SOVIET AID IN INDIA
New steel mill . . . . p. 6
EVERGREEN COMMUNE
The happy dream . . . . . p. 7
WORLD WITHOUT WAR
New Bernal book . . . . . p. 8

A LONG STEP ON FREEDOM ROAD

The Accra Conference

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA, GHANA

THE FIRST All-African Peoples Conference to be held on African soil, which began on Dec. 8, came to an end at noon on Dec. 13. Speaking for 200,000,000 Africans, represented by 62 political and trade union organizations from every nation in Africa—independent and dependent alike—the conference showed an unusual measure of political wisdom and maturity. Putting aside differences of language, background and culture, the conference succeeded in carrying all its resolutions unanimously; it was determined that Africa at last should be free. Differences do exist, of course, both on political and socio-economic grounds, in a continent so vast that it is able to accommodate all of the U.S.A., China and India; but the differences were never as great as the colonial powers attempted to make out, and the demand for freedom and unity was so overwhelming that it overshadowed such differences as did occur.

TOURE'S SLOGAN: One of the most dynamic slogans which greeted delegates, observers and reporters day after day as they entered the conference hall, was Guinea's Prime Minister Sekou Touré's motto: "We prefer independence with poverty to servitude with plenty." (Madame Sekou Touré, incidentally, a remarkably beautiful young women and an outstanding political personality in her own right, acted as leader of Guinea's delegation.)

Sekou Touré's motto expressed the mood of the conference: For the first time, men and women—and the participation of women was in itself of major importance, for seldom before have African women acted collectively on equal terms with their men-folk—representing an entire continent, decided not only to take such political action as would lead to full freedom, but were conscious of all the sacrifices their actions might involve.

As Tom Mboya, brilliant 29-year-old member of the Kenya Legislative Council and chairman of the Accra Conference, said in his closing speech: "This conference is not only of importance to Africa but to all nations the world over." For, as he continued in his clipped Oxford accent, "if Europe is the continent of yesterday, Africa is the continent of tomor-

(Continued on Page 10)

WHY THE TEAMSTERS UNION MOVES AHEAD—I

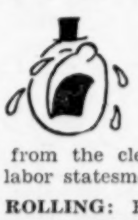
Does Jimmy Hoffa have a magic formula?

By Elmer Bendiner
(First of two articles)

AN OFFICIAL of the AFL-CIO last July told a reporter the secret by which James Riddle Hoffa, president of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, had "outmaneuvered and outflanked" his enemies: "Jimmy Hoffa is making like a trade unionist."

That simple formula was confounding the brass of the merged labor movement which had expelled the Teamsters; the Senate committee which had televised its expose of Teamster corruption; and the press which uses the tag "racket-ridden" as if it were part of the union's official name. Since its expulsion the union has been growing at the rate of 12,000 a month. It now has 1,600,000 to make it the biggest in the country.

The banner with the venerable slogan, "Organize the Unorganized," is now held aloft by Hoffa. Some complain that Hoffa's soiled hands profane that banner but the fact is that Hoffa picked it up as it fell from the clean but limp hands of the labor statesmen.



THEY ARE ROLLING: Hoffa rivaled the lords of the AFL-CIO in splendor as he presided over his executive board early this month in the posh Eden Roc Hotel in Miami. He far exceeded them in the scope of his organizing plans. These are the fields in which the Teamsters are rolling or are about to roll:

- **Transport, air, sea and land.** A Conference on Transportation Unity is being planned to bring together longshoremen, seamen, airport workers and truckmen. (The Railway Brotherhoods will probably remain aloof).

If it comes off, the Conference, as Bernard Nossiter wrote in the Washington **Post and Times Herald,** "could end some bitter waterfront rivalries and for the first time ring the nation's coasts with a united labor front."

- **State, county and city employes, including policemen.** There are 10,000,-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Christmas, 1958

BELHAVEN, N.C.

Said He whose birth we celebrate
This nineteen hundred fifty-eight,
"If man would know peace like the dove,
Above all else, love Love.
Then others love and self the same,
And brotherhood world-wide proclaim."

Who loves self the same as others
Counts mankind as friends and brothers,
Uses strength to raise the weak.
No more than average does he seek.

So shall we not this very Yule
Begin to live the Golden Rule,
Follow Christ more than in name
And get for friend and self the same?

If w do this, all wars will cease,
Abundance grow and man know peace.

Vernon Ward

Goshal on Germany

SCHENECTADY, N.Y.

From my Christmas card list of about 300 names, I would like to hand-pick at least a few to send Kumar Goshal's "Impasse on Germany" (Dec. 15) just received. It is the best, briefest statement of the case, one which anyone can understand.

F. S. Roykouff

Some class!

PENOBSQUIS, N.B.

Oh me! Oh my! How lucky am I, a full page in my favorite paper by my favorite writer, Anna Louise Strong, on my favorite subject, the New China. So Peking says: "What will those peasants do next?" Small wonder. I would like to ask, what class is now really leading the Chinese revolution, the proletariat or the peasantry? There are surely few enough proletarians in the Chinese countryside.

Herman Fillmore

Registered!

SONOMA, CALIF.

I've been an avid reader of your fearless paper for some time now. But you irk me at times with insinuations, direct or by inference, that the GUARDIAN is the only true finger pointing the way. A case in point is your recent editorial "The Sacred Bull" in which you infer that scarcely anyone is willing to criticize J. Edgar Hoover.

So let me call to your attention an article in the November, 1958, **Unitarian Register** by Berkeley B. Blake entitled, "J. Edgar Hoover and God." The **Register** is a religious and denominational magazine, which fact may stigmatize it in the minds of some people. But readers of the GUARDIAN will find a preponderance of its ideas overlapping those of this paper, and the presentations just as fearless. They will also find that both are working toward the same end—recognition of the dignity of man, black, white, yellow, brown or red.

Anyone can subscribe to the **Register,** and it so happens that for a limited time it can be had for only $1.50 per year. Address: The **Unitarian Register,** 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass. Single copies 30 cents.

H. E. Wassam

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2 (UPI)—The armed forces told a House subcommittee today that the Government owned nearly $1,500,000,000 worth of industrial plants that were producing nothing.

Reports submitted to a House Armed Services subcommittee by the Army, Navy and Air Force showed that . . . the Government is spending some $31,000,000 a year to maintain the plants.

— **New York Times, 12/2**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A. M., New York, N.Y.

The Gallery

Why don't you take "The Gallery" section of the GUARDIAN and use the past selections for a book. I believe that it's one of the best columns that I've had the privilege of reading.

A Friend

Alaska: Come on up!

FAIRBANKS ALASKA

My family and I have just flown down from Alaska for a short vacation and business trip. We were among many who were thrilled and pleased with the GUARDIAN's articles re Alaska.

There are many new opportunities opening up in Alaska now. Don't listen to the propagandists from Texas and other Dixiecrat states. Alaska is not so cold and frigid as they would have you believe. Of course we do not have palm trees or cotton fields but we have vast areas that are quite mild. Others are cold. The Arctic tundra is, of course, frigid. Three-fourths of Alaska is further south than Stockholm, Leningrad and Edinburgh, all three of which are amongst the world's largest cities. And to top it off, Alaska is bathed by the warm ocean currents of Japan.

H.J. of Anchorage was right (Nov. 24) in pointing out that all sections of the Left played an effective role in finally getting the Statehood Bill passed by Congress. Ask any Sourdough (native Alaskan) or Cheechako (new settler) and that will be confirmed. H.J. was also quite right when he said that thousands are flooding in. It's like you read about when the Oklahoma Indian Territory was thrown open. It's wonderful. Many, many of these newcomers are progressives, liberals, GUARDIAN, **Worker, Militant** readers and supporters.

We believe that our state will be the first to send another Marcantonio to Congress. We believe that our state will take the lead in state ownership and development of many new basic industries to be used for the benefit of all instead of profits for a few. Practically all the new settlers arriving are young militants.

There are progressive-minded people scattered out from the British Columbia border to Point Barrow and from Canada's Northwest Territory to Attir at the end of the Aleutian chain. But we need more fighters to keep Alaska progressive. I say to one and all, come on up!

Samuel Altowitz
P.O. Box 113

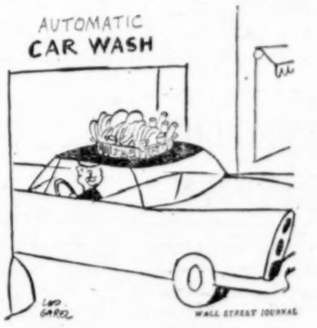
Burchett on Pasternak

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

If everyone who reads **Doctor Zhivago** now that it is first on the Best Seller List would read with it a reprint of W. G. Burchett's report in the GUARDIAN for Nov. 17 of the 5,000-word rejection letter written to Mr. Pasternak by editors in Moscow, there would be extensive education that is much needed in this country. It would be good to understand the Zhivago intellectuals for what they are and to know what to think of an author who, after that thorough analysis of his manuscript, let it get out of his country.

Burchett's report and Lawrence Emery's case history in the GUARDIAN for Nov. 10 give what we need to know to begin to think about the case. People must learn to build their opinions out of basic facts. We need the GUARDIAN to give us this basic information lest our minds be destroyed by cold-war propaganda.

Helen Miller



Wall Street Journal

Left turn

LAWRENCE, MASS.

The name of National Guardian is well chosen for the spokesman of the last organized resistance to the subjugation of people to property in America.

I am giving up my other liberal connections to support the GUARDIAN, because almost without exception other liberal groups are stampeding to the Right, or dying in the despair of hopeless individual resistance. They struggle interminably with separate evils, while accepting the basic evil that causes all others—the cancer of jungle law, called so affectionately by its witch doctors "free-enterprise."

Under this blood-stained banner of economic war, we can never have but one foot out of the jungle. There is no doubt that future historians, if there be such, will account the rise to power of the cooperative view in the East as the most important step man has made away from the jungle since the stone age.

John Henry

A pleasure to disagree

EL MONTE, CALIF.

I do not always agree with what you say. But I find it's a pleasure to disagree with a newspaper as principled and discerning as yours.

E. F. Mack

Ten years ago in the Guardian

THERE'S A NEW political season opening and there's a fine new first letter for you to write to your Congressman and your Senator. Write him today and tell him that the first order of business of the 81st Congress is to wipe the Un-American Committee out of existence. And tell him that you're watching to see if he's going to stand up and be counted with those who are fighting to save the human dignity of America.

—Editorial in the GUARDIAN, Dec. 27, 1948

•

Ten years and five Congresses later, this urging still holds good. On Jan. 7, the California delegation to Congress will have in hand a petition containing 100,000 signatures urging abolition of the Committee. Write to your Congressman today to support the abolition campaign. **Editor.**

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc.,
197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103 Avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert Joyce (Art), Robert E. Light (Production), Tabitha Petran. LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), Wilfred Burchett (Moscow), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent).

Vol. 11, No. 11 401 December 29, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

Dear sir, you cur...

EACH YEAR AT THIS TIME we come to the finish line lame but game with stacks of unpublished (and unanswered) mail going back over a year—and a fistful of irate queries asking why neither.

Why No. 1 is the problem of space. This year, as in other years, we have toted the excess Mailbag several times from Page 2 to an additional page—on politics, Hungary, etc.—but the unpublished heaps seem undiminished.

Why No. 2 is that, while we'd like to acknowledge each letter (and engage in the arguments invited in many), there are two basic problems of (a) postage, now up 33⅓% and (b) the unequal odds of one or two of us here taking on all comers each week to the number of anywhere up to 500. (We get more mail weekly than that; the 500 includes mainly those who want to discuss cabbages & kings in the course of a busy week.)

NOT UNTYPICAL is a letter from Seattle, stating "The writer is an ape . . ." and proceeding with an interplanetary discussion of an eclipsed H-bomb world. Going back a bit, another note reminds us that de Tocqueville in 1835 wrote of Russia and America that "each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the world." And coming vengefully into the near present, a reader named Tiger urges Nixon (following his adventures in Venezuela) to visit Japan at Hiroshima anniversary time. (He must have figured Harry couldn't get a passport). By & large Nixon and Dulles seem to be our readers' favorite targets.

A materialist from Three Oaks, Mich., aims for Ike's solar plexus. He caught Ike saying that his health was "in the lap of the Gods," and says "if we are to remain a nation of deep thinkers and scientists and seek nothing but objective truth, it ill behooves us to allow such expressions to remain unnoticed."

THEN THERE WAS THE LETTER we got which started off "Ha, ha ha" and kept on guffawing for most of a page, submitting a quote from the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the "How Crazy Can You Get" department.

"I know it will not get me the prize," he chuckled, "but it was too good to miss. Poor old Ike . . . Wot a guy! Ha, Ha, Ha . . ."

The quote from the GUARDIAN was:

"In the few years since Eisenhower has been in office, the population of the United States has increased by 13,000,000 . . . "

Ernest Seeman, who writes at least 3 letters a week (and like Franklin Baxter of California, tells us to "waive reply") thinks the Republicans hit bottom when the Great Golfer had to call on the Great Engineer, Hoover, for advice on how to handle depressions. M. B. from Waterbury, Conn., says that those White House "leaks" should be called "ripples from the Golf Stream." Eric Starbuck writes from Cambridge that the "pocket nerve" is the most sensitive in the U.S., and we should publicize more fully where those "defense" tax dollars go (Franco, Chiang, Rhee, etc.). Edna Hansen says the big flat-top **Forrestal** should be relaunched as a sea-going trainer in athletics, crafts and good pursuits for juvenile delinquents. Sam Pavlovic tells the recession not to cry, "you'll be a Depression, by-and-by." David Kassens of Seattle says, in sum, that we should either fire the banks or the Secy. of the Treasury, since only one or the other should be allowed to coin money. I. N. Bozarth of Novinger, Mo., cites to us, among other symptoms of the American Way of Life, a headline reading: "Editor Kills Wife, Takes Own Life." And a Japanese miss wants pen-pals; address: Tokiko Yamada, Hanaya-cho sagaru, Shimomatsuya-cho dori, Shimokyo-ku, Kyoto, Japan, UN.

NOW THE POETRY: One starts off "Disarmament? Don't be silly . . ." Another notes that the "clean" bomb's worth is that it can "clean us all from the face of the earth." Artist Maurice Becker is our all-time champion on rhymes for "brink." Grace Nowacki sends us the most ("Grasp Liberty and hold it tight/You have the power to set things right!") Uncle Josh Hayseed rhymes farm ills with war-wastage bills; a high school boy starts off "One day a time machine I did invent . . ." and from the future rhymes our present world edifice with "a deceased hulk infested with mice." L. G. (familiar initials?) writes "if you aren't going to use the version I sent you yesterday, I'd rather you didn't use this version instead." And **Lumberjack** editor Tom Scribner just sends along a self-addressed, stamped, airmail rejection envelope, without a poem. Our favorite pessimist.

Our favorite post office for 1958: Sweet Home, Ore.
Don't forget to write.

—THE GUARDIAN

WHY BIG BUSINESS LIKES BRINKS

Military spending key to economic upturn

By Victor Perlo

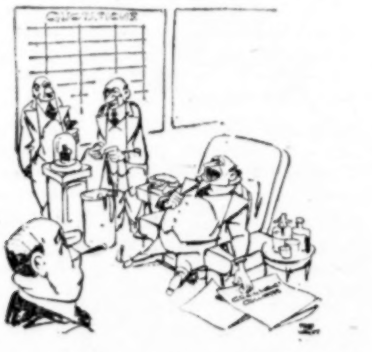
LAST MARCH I wrote that the decline then under way was a real crisis of overproduction. That was correct. Even apologists for the status quo concede that that drop was qualitatively worse than earlier postwar recessions. I wrote that hard times would last for two or three years. That holds up for workers. Unemployment this winter looms as heavy as last.

But I expected the downturn to last longer, and wrote that it would be followed by a depression with output staying near the low point. (GUARDIAN, April 7). That was inaccurate. Production turned upward in May, and has recovered two-thirds of its losses.

The inaccuracy was partly due to errors in appraising certain factors, but even more to later events (suggested as possible in the article) which could and did change the perspective.

THE BOOSTS: Government measures to speed up public construction and stimulate private housing were more successful than I had anticipated. By November, 1958, these forms of building were at an annual rate $4 billion higher than a year earlier, as against a $2 billion rise estimated in the April 7 article. Also, the article didn't allow for increased farm price support payments, government salary increases and veterans' payments—altogether another $2 billion boost to the economy.

The recovery was also helped by the speed with which big business succeeded in restoring the rate of profit through the full play of automation and an unusually large jump in labor productivity.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"I'm fagged out fellows . . just unloaded a million bushels of wheat."

This encourages corporate giants to increase activity somewhat, but keeps employment close to the crisis bottom.

Attempts will be made to raise the rate of profit further through government give-aways, such as will result from the Supreme Court decision allowing quick natural gas price increases. This will "help business" by stimulating the purchase of gas-line pipe. But every consumer will pay for it in his gas bill.

ARMS SPENDING: These factors were enough to stem temporarily the decline and, with the modest first-quarter rise in armament orders, to cause an upward movement in the production curve. Such fluctuations are frequent during economic crises. But the recovery went beyond the bounds of a "pause on the way down."

I wrote in the GUARDIAN article: "Is the recent stiffening of Administration anti-summit conference maneuverings an attempt to leave the door open for more drastic business 'remedies' in the military field?" It was.

New military contracts during the second quarter of 1958 reached a new peacetime record. For the first half-year, procurement and construction contracts were at an annual rate of $27 billion, $9 billion above the $18 billion of 1957. This was three times the military rise projected in the April 7 article.

THE BRINKS: Then came the two summer brinks of war over Lebanon and Quemoy. These events really stirred things up. The **Journal of Commerce** wrote on July 21:

"The latest Middle Eastern crisis hit the economy at a time when it was trying to shake off the recession . . . Three factors are now likely to give the current recovery a greater lift:

"1. Defense spending is almost certain to increase.

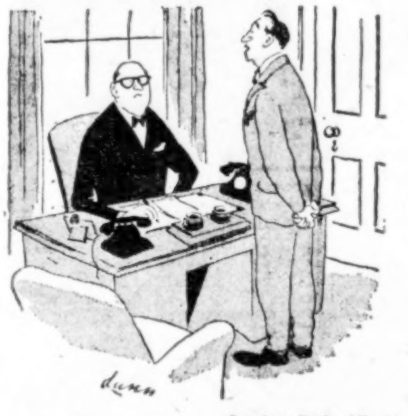
"2. Inventory liquidation will be discouraged and may even be reversed, at least during the acute phase of the current crisis; and

"3. Consumer buying of durable goods may be stimulated if the crisis is protracted and the fear of war in the Middle East persists."

The crisis was protracted, with Quemoy following Lebanon. Military spending is still rising. Inventory liquidation was stopped. Durable goods buying, other than for cars, increased sharply. Steel companies, unable to raise prices July 1 because of the slack market, did so a month later, after the Lebanon intervention, and were still able to increase sales.

THE KEY: Military spending and action was the key to the recovery. Militarism adds to the "stickiness" of unemployment. The new orders for missiles and other super-weapons have a low labor component. Inflation permits construction contractors to do more dollars of business with fewer workers. The military spur gives the economy a feverish, speculative character, as shown in the 1929-type stock market boom.

The character of the recovery shapes the outlook for 1959. With the rise of $2 billion in military spending, there is going to be a deficit of $12 billion this fiscal year. But if the new rate of military contract-letting is sustained, the arms budget will have to go up another $10 billion over the next two years. If Congress enacts new measures to keep the construction pot boiling, and to finance mounting farm surpluses, more billions will pour out.



London Daily Mirror

"I could get along without a raise, if you know any substitute for food."

Prices will tend to rise more rapidly. The 1958 record outflow of gold may be repeated. The danger of devaluation, already mentioned in the more private business publications, may become acute. Some bankers fear such an outcome, which would reduce the value of the money capital. So demands for economy are heard again.

TWO PULLS: Should the free-spenders win out, a more feverish semi-prosperity is in prospect. Stock prices will zoom higher and profits also will go through the roof. But substantial unemployment will continue. The real incomes of millions will be cut by inflation and taxes. The war danger will increase. And all this would not prevent another crisis of overproduction within a few years.

Should the fiscal conservatives get the upper hand, declining tendencies will soon reassert themselves. The failure to renew 1958's temporary props could be enough to start a fresh downturn.

Perhaps neither side will win a clear-cut victory. With a compromise in policy, the life expectancy of the recovery will not be very long, and its chances of reaching a new peak not very good. For certain negative features which were influential in 1957 have become worse.

NO MORE BRINKS: Overcapacity is more pronounced, because of the completion of the projects started during the late boom. The weakening economy of other capitalist countries, which caused U.S. exports to drop in 1958, has become a definite decline, perhaps a world capitalist crisis of overproduction.

The rate of automobile sales will affect the duration of the recovery. It is too soon to judge whether 1959 models will do well or poorly. Super-easy credits, or super-high prices—which will have more influence?

The attack on Egypt brought U.S. industrial production to an all-time peak in December, 1956. But this was the last gasp of the boom. A half-year later the economic crisis began. The Lebanon and Quemoy crises, so helpful to business, seem to have evaporated.

However, their momentum remains and may remain until mid-1959 when there will be the threat of a steel strike. In anticipation of this event, users will pile up large inventories, tending to make things look better than they really are. At about this time also the reckless section of big business may be clamoring for another brink of war. Obviously, they may use Berlin, if nothing better can be manufactured in the meantime.

Will the American people permit it? Or will they finally stop Dulles from even going **to** the brink, and force action to ease the very real economic problems of tens of millions of Americans?

STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL SMEARS APPLICANTS

Drive begun for new passport restrictions

TALKING TO A COMMITTEE of the Veterans of Foreign Wars last November, Roderic L. O'Connor, State Dept. security chief, said that the Department had received "596 applications [for passports] from persons who have records of activity in support of the international Communist movement . . . They are soldiers in the Cold War—but they are soldiers of the enemy."

On Dec. 16, testifying before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, O'Connor—whose title is "Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs"—said that he had gone too far in calling them "known Communists," that this was "a somewhat precise statement." He plainly meant that it was somewhat imprecise. He amended it to say only that the 596 would not have been given passports if the State Dept. had had its own way.

A NEW TECHNIQUE: He gave the committee a list of the "30 most interesting cases"—names of persons who were given passports since the Supreme Court ruled that the State Dept. had no power to withhold them on political grounds. The list was made public. Another list of 702 names was offered by O'Connor for publication "where non-classified information was involved." That qualification seemed obscure, but in any case the public smear list seemed a new technique to harass passport applicants.

The subcommittee summoned a number of witnesses, among them familiar targets of the witch-hunt, ostensibly to show the need of passport restrictions. Among those called were James Jackson, the Communist Party's Secretary for Negro and Southern Affairs, and William L. Patterson, general manager of **The Worker.** In their testimony both called for the unseating of subcommittee chairman Sen. James O. Eastland.

O'Connor, in his VFW talk, assailed the Supreme Court for weakening the nation's defenses "against indirect Communist aggression" and complained that Communists had "raised the cry of a newly discovered 'right to travel.'"

FIGHT COMING UP: O'Connor's campaigning against that right foreshadowed a fight in the next Congress for new passport legislation. Among the proposals was an unexpectedly moderate one from a committee of the N.Y. Bar Assn. offered in November. **I. F. Stone's Weekly** pointed out that the eight-member committee came "mainly from the most blue-blooded of Wall Street's corporation law firms."

In a 150-page report entitled "Freedom to Travel," the Committee said that passports should not be denied to anyone, including members of the Communist Party, on the basis of his politics. The question concerning CP affiliation would be dropped from applications.

PROPOSAL ANALYZED: The Committee's statement fell short of a complete avowal of the right to travel and allowed a loop-hole large enough for some of the worst State Dept. abuses. It said passports could be denied if "some hostile action to the national security" were "reasonably anticipated." Even in such a case, however, the group would require prompt decisions, a full review hearing and, in most cases, the right of an applicant to confront his accusers. Only anticipated "action," not belief or affiliation, could bar an applicant. Under the bar group's recommendations, the State Dept. could also continue to bar travel in areas such as China and Hungary.

20,000,000 NAMES: State Dept. officials quickly denounced the group's proposals as "dangerously short-sighted." Editorials in the N.Y. **Daily News** recalled that the study was financed by the Fund for the Republic, a witch-hunters' target.

In the last Congress the Administration backed a bill restoring full powers to the State Dept. to restrict passports. Robert Murphy, Deputy Under-Secy. of State, admitted that a blacklist of 20,000,000 names would be used to determine who was eligible for a passport. Countering the Administration bill was one filed by Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) requiring the Secy. of State in peacetime to issue a passport within 30 days to any citizen who pays his fee.

* * *

Free World: Eastern outpost

SEOUL, Dec. 6 (UPI) — Fist fights broke out in the Korean National Assembly today in a battle over a controversial revision of the national security law.

None of the legislators was injured seriously, but several received minor cuts and bruises.

The security law revision, according to critics, would set up a one-party system in the Republic of Korea and would eliminate freedom of the press.

—Los Angeles Times, Dec. 7

* * *

A BRITISH PACIFIST DEMONSTRATOR MAKES HIS POINT
And gets rough handling at a U.S. missile base in Swaffham

Direct action group forces issue of bases in Britain

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE GROUP of determined men and women who broke through barbed wire guarding the rocket base site at North Pickenham in Norfolk, lay down in front of trucks and were thrown into a pool of cement and mud, achieved one purpose. They forced a discussion in the House of Commons and in the press on the danger of these bases to the British people. Government spokesmen in Commons were on the defensive and argued that the bases made the people safer—a statement nobody takes seriously.

The demonstrators also brought into the open the failure of the Labor leaders to carry out their declared opposition to the bases. This item of policy has been omitted from the new popular pamphlet defining Labor's election program. One Trades Union Congress official explains privately that the Labor Party is in favor only of suspending construction of the bases pending a new attempt to get Big Power discussions and is not in favor of stopping them altogether.

This is the real issue of the approaching election — can the rank and file of the Labor and trade union movement break the coalition on foreign policy between the Conservative and right-wing Labor leaders before the voters go to the polls? If it is not done before the election it assuredly will not be done afterwards.

DIRECT ACTION: Within the various sections of the peace movement there are differences of opinion on the correctness of direct action of this kind and it has also brought to the forefront the question, which must be faced, of workers being asked to abandon jobs at a time when the danger of unemployment is looming for millions.

On the other hand, one of the most successful campaigns in British history, that of the Suffragettes, was based on direct action. Women chained themselves to the railings outside the Prime Minister's house in Downing Street. One was killed trying to stop the King's horse in the Derby, the most famous horse race of the year. They went to jail and staged hunger strikes. The Direct Action Committee which organized the North Pickenham protest certainly has the right to point out that the threat of nuclear annihilation is of more importance than a battle for the right to vote.

WIDE SUPPORT: The government is aware of the support which the demonstrators can command from a good section of the public, otherwise there would have been many arrests. That in turn would have meant more headlines. If the demonstrators were jailed and perhaps followed the example of the suffragettes with hunger strikes, there would be even more publicity.

In Britain, this would be embarrassing both for the government and the Labor advocates of cold war. In Japan, where the people are in action on an unparalleled scale, in West Germany where the campaign aginst nuclear armaments is gathering strength, in France where the people must be aware that the de Gaulle plan to make a French H-bomb threatens the life of their country; in all these lands the example of the resisters at North Pickenham would serve as an inspiration.

From the government's point of view, the North Pickenham incidents were particularly disconcerting because even their docile press could not report them as communist-inspired.

NON-VIOLENT: The demonstrators are pledged to non-violent methods and they charge that some representatives from newspapers, both at home and abroad and from foreign news agencies, tried to incite violence.

One thing is clear. The people who live in the area were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the demonstration. So were many of the workers on the site, though a minority joined with the Air Force men in attacking the demonstrators. It's a fair guess that if the U.S. forces had been involved in attacks on British demonstrators, there would have been more protests and the underlying anger of tens of millions of British people at the presence of foreign troops in their country would have come to the fore.

Teamsters union

(Continued from Page 1)

000 of them to be organized.

The drive opened in New York City and Washington on Dec. 5, stirring sharp cries of indignation from two sides: (1) N.Y. Police Commissioner Kennedy said he'd fight any union of policemen in the courts; (2) Mike Quill of the Transport Workers Union said the AFL-CIO should undertake the job first. Teamster officials replied to Kennedy that they were prepared for the courts and announced that there already was a nucleus of union men under wraps on the force. They warned Quill to keep away from the field or they might accept applications from subway men.

- **Latin America.** Hoffa announced that survey teams are already at work there and "we've established a beachhead in Puerto Rico."

- **Also on the list** are 70,000 unorganized taxi drivers; 70,000 Sears, Roebuck & Co. employees; 1,000,000 unorganized warehousemen, gas attendants, auto mechanics, airport workers and brewers.

TAMPA BATTLEGROUND: Unlike past Teamster drives this one contemplates deals with other unions and expeditions into virgin organizing territory rather than raids. This does not mean, however, that there will be harmony.

For example, a key arena in which both sides have committed their prestige is Tampa, Fla., where two new breweries employing a total of 600 workers are to be organized. Ray Schoessling, in charge of the Teamster drive there, called it "a personal fight between the executive council of the AFL-CIO, represented by George Meany and Walter Reuther, against our international union." The AFL-CIO has sent 49 organizers into Tampa and Meany has vowed "to throw everything he has" into the fight. His trouble is that he doesn't have nearly as much to throw as Hoffa has.

The Teamsters have a treasury estimated at from $37,000,000 to $45,000,000. The AFL-CIO has $6,431,195.82, of which $4,901,909.46 is tied up in real estate. For Hoffa Tampa is a battleground ringed by fence-sitters. If he can defeat the AFL-CIO in the breweries there he hopes that other unions which now hesitate to work with the Teamsters will rally to his banner.

GEORGE DIDN'T DO IT: Hoffa beat Meany to the punch in another field. When the striking AFL-CIO engineers and mechanics at Eastern Airlines needed money they got it not from the parent organization but from the Teamsters, with whom no AFL-CIO affiliate was to have any dealings under pain of banishment. Hoffa offered to put up collateral for a $200,000 loan and the strikers accepted. Hoffa rubbed Meany's nose into it: "Poor old George should be doing this but he doesn't have the guts."

The Teamsters, whatever their past, are rolling up a record that cannot fail to impress workers accustomed to lofty concepts and slim pickings from Reuther and Meany. Last winter, in the midst of the recession and under daily denunciation in the press, Hoffa negotiated a three-year contract for 500,000 drivers in the Midwest and South, giving them hourly pay boosts of 7c to 10c, plus sizeable increases in pensions and fringe benefits. The pay scale is now up to $2.44 in some areas and $2.47 in others.

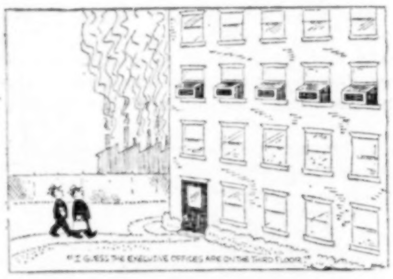
ON THE ISLAND: Puerto Rico offers a fair picture of the Teamsters at work, diplomatically and organizationally. For months a company called Rugcrofters Inc. had resisted demands of the AFL-CIO Seafarers Intl. Union and called for an NLRB election. Teamster organizer Frank Chavez came in with the power of his union behind him. The SIU gave Teamsters jurisdiction over the drivers.

Rugcrofters promptly withdrew their petition for an election and signed a contract granting unprecedented wage increases up to 165%. The drivers there had been getting 65c an hour. On April 1 they will get $1.20, on June 1, $1.40 and on Sept. 1, $1.60. In addition, the company agreed to put up $2.50 a week per worker for the union pension fund.

Chavez works out of the SIU offices and is in touch with the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., which has also agreed to give the Teamsters jurisdiction over anyone who works in a truck. The Teamsters now have 1,000 members in Puerto Rico and predict 10,000 in three years.

EXCOMMUNICATED, BUT . . . At the prodding of the McClellan Committee, Meany documented Hoffa's sins, called him to repent and in the meantime excommunicated him and all the Teamsters. He forbade any respectable labor leader to have anything to do with them.

But Hoffa has nonetheless signed a working agreement with Al Hayes, president of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists and chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee which voted for the Teamster expulsion. Then he signed a similar jurisdictional agreement with Joe Curran, president of the Natl. Maritime Union and a member of the Ethical Practices Committee. It was plain that Meany was no Pope who could make an excommunication stick.



Dahl in Boston Herald
"I guess the executive offices are on the third floor."

Meany had threatened to charter break-away teamsters' locals and defend the rank-and-file. He has not dared raid Hoffa and is apparently thankful only that Hoffa is not raiding him. Hoffa has skillfully amputated the dissident leaders within his union and the rank-and-file look upon their Jimmy as a hero—however tarnished—who is still defending them from a combined assault by Senators, judges, newspapers, employers and labor statesmen.

THE MORAL: It does not seem to disturb the truckers that Hoffa is their champion at $50,000 a year plus expenses and a few sidelines—the respectable leaders get the same take—or that he is still up to his ears in court actions, or that he does not lean to parliamentary democracy.

The moral of Hoffa's success story seems to be that the workers will accept their organizers where they find them; that a man who delivers at least a part of the goods to his constituents is likely to be forgiven his sins.

Rotary to work for world understanding

A NEW PATH for Rotary International, the world's largest service club, was charted here yesterday by its international president.

Speaking at a Golden Anniversary luncheon of the San Francisco Club, Clifford A. Randall, a Milwaukee lawyer, warned that "we are going to be challenged as never before to make international understanding work."

In the future, said the leader of some 500,000 Rotarians in 111 countries of the world, "I would hope that Rotary would cease to be primarily a luncheon club and devote more time to analyzing and understanding the great issues of the world community."

"What the world is looking for," he said, "is not a better bomb or a better missile, but how people can get a better life out of the production of this planet for a better tomorrow."

—San Francisco Chronicle, 11/4.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK RUMORS DISMISSED

Mao's role as a planner seen heightened in shift

A PEKING COMMUNIQUE announced on Dec. 17 that Mao Tse-tung has decided to retire as China's Chief of State. He will, however, remain as chairman of the Communist Party.

For two weeks earlier rumors about Mao's retirement had been floating around Western capitals. They emanated largely from Taiwan, which characterized the retirement as a "demotion." This was done to buttress Chiang Kai-shek's claim that China is seething with discontent over the commune system.

But Western diplomats, deaf to Chiang's constant predictions of an early collapse of the Peking regime, saw it differently. Many diplomats had long been aware of Mao's decision. **Reuters** said he had spoken of it to India's ambassador to Peking last January, and to Soviet Premier Khrushchev last August.

IT JUST AIN'T SO: The **Christian Science Monitor** said there was "virtual agreement" in Washington that Mao's retirement "should not be construed as a demotion or sign of weakness—as Yugoslav and Chinese Nationalist [Chiang] sources have implied." If he had given up his party post "there might be grounds" for such a contention. The **Wall Street** Journal said diplomats in Washington felt not only that his power had not been reduced but that the commune program will be carried through. U.S. State Dept. press officer Lincoln White reportedly shared this belief.

The British were reported to feel that Mao was "likely to emerge with vastly enhanced stature in the long run." The London **News Chronicle** said: "Mao may be far more formidable as a Communist prophet than he ever was as chief administrator of one-fifth of the human race."

CHAIRMAN MAO WITH SOME ADMIRING YOUNG VISITORS TO PEKING

"He will remain the leader of the entire people"

"POLICY AND LINE": The Peking communique, in fact, cut through all the speculation even as a concurrent report detailed China's remarkable achievements in 1958 and listed the targets for 1959. It said Mao's decision would enable him "all the better to concentrate his energies on dealing with questions of direction, policy and line of party and state . . . He will also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work without affecting his continued leading role in the work of the state."

The communique went on: "Comrade Mao is the sincerely beloved and long-tested leader of the people . . . of the whole country. He will remain the leader of the entire people . . . even when he no longer holds the post of Chairman of the State. If some special situation arises in the future, which should require him to take up this work again, he still can be nominated again to assume the duties of Chairman of the State, in compliance with the opinion of the people and the decision of the party."

On economics, the report said:

- The total 1958 value of industrial and agricultural output would show a 70% increase over 1957.
- The 1958 financial income would increase about $5,500,000,000.
- Capital construction investments this year would be more than $8,700,000,000, nearly half the total investment in the First Five-Year Plan period.

THE 1959 GOALS: These were main targets for 1959: Steel output to be increased from 11,000,000 tons to 18,000,000; coal from 270,000,000 to 380,000,000; grain from 275,000,000, to 525,000,000, and cotton from 3,350,000, to 5,000,000.

In the light of this report the commune system could hardly be considered a failure calling for Mao's retirement. But China's leaders were aware of the stresses and strains that might arise out of such a gigantic undertaking. The watchword, the **Monitor's** Gordon Walker reported from Hong Kong, is to proceed slowly.

The successful application of socialist principles to China's rapid economic development would seem to be the very reason why Mao would want to devote more time to theoretical work. The Chinese Communists, observing that their "big leap forward" formula has also been successfully applied in North Korea and North Vietnam, have reportedly been carefully studying Stalin's last work on the economics of socialism; they are said to believe it was time to add to it on the basis of their own experience.

LENIN BEFORE HIM: This would not be surprising, since the Chinese Communists have always considered theory and analysis more important for man's future than the routine functions of the state.

This also seemed logical to the **Manchester Guardian's** Victor Zorza. He said that Mao's wish, at 65, to devote himself to theoretical writing, without losing touch with the administration, should be considered no more unusual than Lenin's similar preoccupation.

Zorza said such theoretical writing may inspire other Asians in the belief that, by following China's example, they too can attain a vastly improved living standard in their own lifetime. He warned that what the West calls debasement of the Chinese people through the communes "may not appear so to those anxious to see their backward selves and nations make rapid progress. [The whole Chinese method] can be persuasively presented as the answer to the prayers of the overwhelming majority of the world's population in the underdeveloped countries."

If this be the case, Zorza added, Mao's new role may rank as historic.

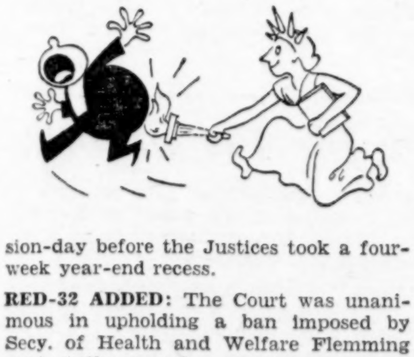
TENNESSEE BUS JIMCROW TO GET TEST

Supreme Court bars use of coal-tar dye for oranges

CITRUS GROWERS may not add a coal-tar coloring substance to ripe-but-green oranges;

- The case of a Negro who sued for an injunction against enforcement of Tennessee's jimcrow travel law must be heard even though the complainant is not a regular patron of the bus line;
- A labor leader's 1951 conviction for contempt of Congress cannot stand because of technical deficiencies in the procedure by which he was cited.

These were among the rulings of the Supreme Court on Dec. 16, its last decision-day before the Justices took a four-week year-end recess.



RED-32 ADDED: The Court was unanimous in upholding a ban imposed by Secy. of Health and Welfare Flemming against the use of a coal-tar dye, Red-32, to improve the skin color of oranges. The dye was approved for use in 1939, but later became suspect as a possible cause of cancer. After conducting tests which proved that Red-32 was harmful to animals, the Food and Drug Administration removed it from the list of approved additives in 1955.

The growers principally affected were some operators of Florida and Texas citrus fields. Certain oranges in California are also green when ripe, but they are given an acceptable color by exposure to ethylene gas. In the Texas and Florida cases, however, this process gives the fruit only a pale yellow, somewhat sickly, cast, and Red-32 has been used.

The Florida Citrus Exchange and others contested the Government ban in the U.S. Circuit Court in New Orleans on the grounds that the dye had been proven harmful only to animals, not humans, and that Secy. Flemming should be required to establish a tolerance level by which growers might abide. The High Court struck down these arguments and upheld Flemming.

While the case was in the courts, Congress in 1956 enacted a law exempting Florida from the ban until March 1, 1959. The Court ruled that the temporary law should remain in effect until its expiration date but barred the use of the dye after that time. The growers promised to have Florida legislators introduce a bill in the next Congress extending the exemption period.

A VALID CAUSE: The Tennessee case began on April 26, 1956, when O. Z. Evers, a Negro, was told to sit in the rear of a Memphis bus. He refused. The conductor called two policemen who ordered the passenger to get back, get off or get arrested. Evers left the bus and later filed suit asking for a ban against the state law requiring segregation on streetcars and buses.

A special three-judge Federal District Court dismissed the case on the grounds that Evers did not use bus transportation regularly and that "in reality he boarded the bus for the purpose of instituting this litigation." The High Court ruling reinstated the case and said that the fact that Evers may have entered the bus to test the law was not significant.

TECHNICAL VICTORY: In another unanimous decision the Court wiped out a two-month prison term and $1,000 fine that had been fixed by a U.S. District Court against Abram Flaxer, former president of the now-defunct United Public Workers of America. Flaxer in 1951 had refused to surrender the membership list of his union to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The ruling did not support Flaxer's right to withhold the names, but found fault with the timing and manner in which they had been requested. At the end of a hearing before the Subcommittee, Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah) gave Flaxer ten days to produce the list.

After the 10-day period the Subcommittee set the machinery into motion for the contempt citation. The Court ruled the record did not show that Flaxer had been contemptuous at the hearing or that he might not have surrendered the records if contacted again.

FREE

"A Season of Fear"

by Abraham Polonsky

On receipt of three new $1 introductory subs we will send you free a copy of the novel, "A Season of Fear."

Sign 'em up!

Your neighbors need the GUARDIAN and the GUARDIAN needs them

$1 for 13 weeks

Name ....
Address ....
....
Name ....
Address ....
....
Name ....
Address ....
....

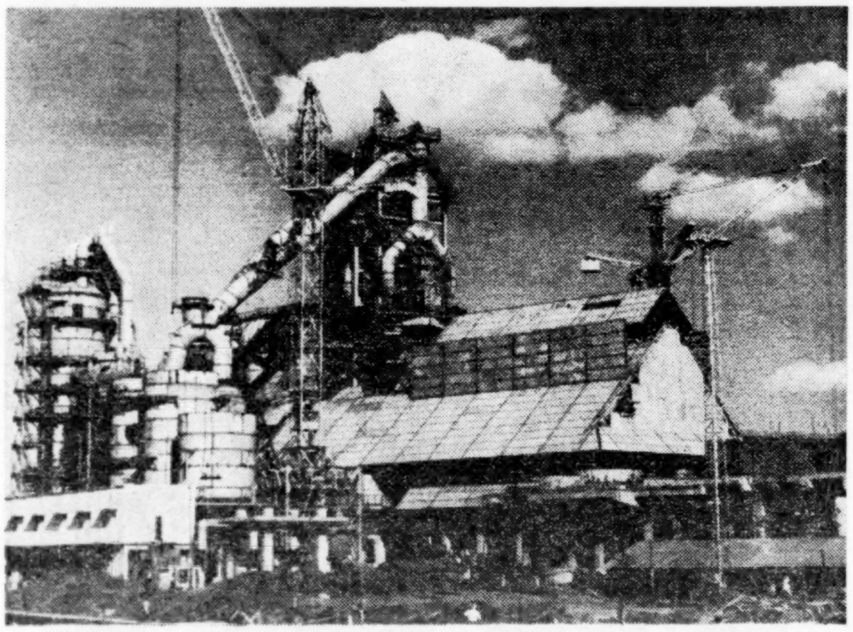
PLEASE SEND BOOK TO:

Sender ....
Address ....
....

National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., N.Y. 9

AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST-CAPITALIST COOPERATION

India builds a blast-furnace with Soviet help



THE HUGE NEW BLAST-FURNACE AT BHILAI NEARS COMPLETION
Newest techniques are combined with large-scale manual labor

By Cedric Belfrage

BHILAI, Madhya Pradesh, India

FROM THE BEATEN-UP train lumbering across India's dusty, densely-peopled, primitively-cultivated expanses, no person or thing seen for hours has suggested that the world does move. And then the profile of a great blast-furnace, and three coke-oven batteries with one tall chimney already smoking, rises out of the decrepitude.

Suddenly, startlingly, you are in an atmosphere of teeming activity and hope. And in your modestly luxurious room at Bhilai House where creators of this miracle are lodged, a barefooted middle-aged "boy" brings the inevitable tea and says: "Horosho!"

This is one of the three steel mills nearing completion in the east central plains, which by 1961 will give India a 2.4-million-ton annual production in the "public sector" on top of 2.3 million in the expanded "private sector."

A DIFFERENCE: From all parties in parliament the Steel Ministry is under attack for the costs of these projects soaring above the estimates, especially at the Durgapur and Rourkela mills which British and West German firms are building.

At Bhilai there are swindling and profiteering contractors too, but they are Indian and the aid which comes from socialist Russia is of a different kind. Under the agreement signed in 1955 the project—including such subsidiary ones as mechanization of iron-ore mines—gets $170,000,000 of equipment from 400 Soviet factories, mostly on a 2½% loan repayable over 12 years.

The total bill will be 14% above estimates because India expected to, but in the event could not, supply certain building needs. Soviet charges for design of the plant (contained in 70,000 drawings) and for their experts' services remain unchanged from the estimate.

RUSSIANS' ROLE: But the U.S.S.R. insisted on Indian "counter-part efforts" rather than funds to do the whole job itself. Indian contractors and the project's own construction organization carry out the work. The Russians' task, as Indian chief engineer Subbaranan puts it, is "to guide and correct" Indian technicians and labor and "to do" only when the Indians lack the necessary skill. Dozens of young Indians here have already acquired the skill through training courses in the U.S.S.R.

Thus, says Subbaranan, "of all the steel plants Bhilai is the best school for learning," providing Indian technicians with direct responsibility and "unparalleled opportunities." Pig-iron production is expected to begin next February, just two years after the work was started—a speed far surpassing India's capacity by itself, comparing favorably with the U.S. and Britain and running neck-and-neck with Rourkela. In addition, hundreds of Indians will by then "have mastered the skill of the Russians who taught them."

Soviet experts and skilled workers here are now hitting the peak of about 500. Many Russian families have been here nearly two years and, although the Indians have done them proud in the way of comfortable quarters, are frankly homesick.

GOOD RELATIONS: They accept the life that goes with the job, and enjoy the opportunity to buy quantities of well-made shoes and clothing, but show their intense home-mindedness in many ways. The kids have a Russian school with three imported teachers, and the wives who don't work on the project (some are secretaries, doctors, etc.) go marketing for the makings of Russian-style dinners but complain of the shortage of beef.

Being a generation too late to have known such conditions in Russia, they cannot but be horrified by the squalor, misery and neglect all around them; apparently they discuss it only among themselves, but in a spontaneous compensatory reaction they give large tips for small services.

They get **Pravda,** but—Bhilai being in a "dry" zone—no vodka and no other liquor without traveling 12 miles for it. They hunt and fish and hike, and compete strenuously of an evening at billiards and table tennis in recreation rooms, while their Indian colleagues are lured by the charms of cricket. There are alternate shows of Soviet and American movies; last night's began with a newsreel of pneumatic-looking athletes forming themselves into patriotic patterns in Lenin Stadium to deafening applause.

PEACEFUL COMPETITION: With work on the project continuing on three shifts around the clock, and miles separating one end of the sprawling mushroom community from the other, social contacts with the Indians are rare; but Indians and Russians are learning each other's songs, and join in friendly concerts on such occasions as November 7 and Nehru's birthday.

The Russians also say they are "very friendly" with the Germans at Rourkela, whose visits to Bhilai are returned from time to time. "We are both helping India in good peaceful competition," said genial Ukrainian laboratory chief A. N. Ramm. Like every Soviet expert here, Ramm works in harness with an Indian who gets the know-how benefit and will take over when Ramm leaves.

On the construction site giant-wheeled diesels and caterpillar tractors, stirring clouds of red dust, weave among enormous crates shipped from Odessa; a green-sareed girl with a gold nose-ring squats on a pile of gravel outside the hiring office near a group of male job-seekers, lured by Bhilai "help-wanted" ads from all corners of India; and human belt-lines, in the form of processions of women with head-baskets, move mountains of sand and dirt amid the endless creative din. (Of a 65,000 total personnel the project employs 50,000 unskilled laborers, mostly at the standard local wage of 24c a day for women and 30c for men plus 15-25½ "construction allowance"; clerks get about 84c a day.)

COORDINATION: In the blast furnace, a Russian directs nimble but frail-bodied workers heaving into place a section of iron gutter for the molten steel; nearby four engineers discuss a plumb-line problem. Two of them speak Hindi, one Malayali and one Russian, but with some English and much hand-waving they seem to understand each other easily.

Soviet chief engineer V. E. Dymshitz, a slim pink-complexioned veteran who graduated from Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk to head the post-war reconstruction of Zaporozhe, said in his blueprint-lined office: "Our relations with the excellent Indian engineers are both friendly and businesslike. In our country we are now able to build a blast furnace a bit bigger than this one in eight months, but in our first five-year plan it took two years and the tempo here is as fast as in many advanced countries.

"As you see, the Hindustan Construction Co. is using a lot of modern machinery, but the Indians are right in combining this with large-scale manual work, because while they have enough people, more mechanical equipment could only be bought abroad. They take up mechanization quickly and will soon mechanize everything. It's true that big excavators could do in two days what takes two months with people, but it makes little difference if we coordinate the various jobs carefully."

He agreed that this was perhaps the first large-scale cooperation between socialist and capitalist man under peaceful conditions but would only comment: "I don't work in that field, and anyway we aren't here to establish any social lines—our object is to share our technical experience. We are happy to think of the new industries, new cities and new enthusiasm which will result from our being here."

CONTINUING BENEFITS: Most of the Bhilai workers' army—the unskilled in the construction camps—will end their service with neither cash in the pocket nor a job in the plant, but by Indian standards the benefits will be widespread and considerable. Many, though housed in tents or in do-it-yourself huts for which the project issues uprights and bamboo matting, will have had their first contact with the modern world and with the idea of hope for the future.

They will have experienced better, cleaner living in a community showing some responsibility for their health and work conditions and their children's welfare. Some will inevitably be influenced in their thinking about their own condition by the contact with socialist man, although the Russians are leaning over backwards to avoid any semblance of propagandizing.

The luckier or more enterprising few will be launched on the road to a good life as trainees in Bhilai's technical institute, where Soviet-trained Indians will continue to spread Soviet know-how after the last plane-load of Russians flies home.

A RUSSIAN AND AN INDIAN ENGINEER CONSULT A BLUEPRINT
Part of the Russians' job is to share their knowledge

Richson Nixonfeller for President

ANYBODY WHO THINKS that Nelson Rockefeller is more liberal than conservative and Richard Nixon more conservative than liberal had better revise his thinking. But the conclusion will be just as confusing because, according to the **Wall St. Journal,** this is the way the campaign strategy will shape up:

> Nixon plans to stress his "liberal" side enough "to steal Rockefeller's thunder without losing GOP conservative backing." Nixon's in solid with the conservatives but, said one Nixon confidant: "They'll never get a franchise on that boy."
>
> On the other hand, Rockefeller's friends are beginning to spread the word that their boy "really isn't as liberal as you think. He's basically pretty conservative, but just had to act liberal to get elected in New York."

Just thought we'd help clear a few things up for you.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG IN CHINA

Evergreen Commune and the happy dream

On Nov. 15 Secy. of State Dulles, in an address to the 20 nations of the Colombo Plan meeting in Seattle, said that China has "imposed a system of mass slavery on 650,000,000 Chinese people" under the name of Communes; that China has "degraded the dignity of the human individual" and made "a vast slave state." Immediately after the speech, GUARDIAN correspondent Anna Louise Strong visited a Commune near Peking (she had already been to two others—see GUARDIAN, Dec. 1) to see for herself and to ask the people what they thought of Dulles' remarks. On Nov. 17 she reported on her findings over Radio Peking. Following is a major excerpt of her report.

By Anna Louise Strong

PEKING

EVERGREEN COMMUNE was organized last August by eight cooperative farms whose members, after energetic discussion, decided to combine in order more easily to electrify and irrigate their area. Their lands run about 12 miles north to south and eight miles east to west, and include some 10,000 arable acres. Of these one-third are used for the peasants' own food—wheat, sweet potatoes, peanuts, fruit—while the rest grow vegetables for the Peking market.

About 20 Commune members, men and women, old and young, followed me into the Commune office, a large sunny room with several tables and chairs and three cots pushed against the wall. We were received by a peasant of 60 who had lost most of his teeth and whose thin, gnarled body bore other signs of a long, hard life, but whose shrewd intelligence and kindly philosophy became apparent as soon as he talked about the fields. His name was Shen To and the others called him "Minister of Agriculture." He accepted the name with a smile and told me the Commune had named all heads of departments "ministers." He had been a poor peasant in this area all his life, but after Liberation he had learned to read and write and had become chairman of one of the eight farm cooperatives.

A younger man with glasses proved to be a teacher of literature from the People's University of Peking, who had come as a volunteer to help the Commune with its statistics. He slept on one of the cots in the office, because he had a home in town and his salary still came from the University. He had been with the Commune two weeks and did not know how long he would stay. He might decide to join the Commune permanently, in which case his teacher's salary would stop and the peasants would find him a room.

His name was Chou Kan. I asked him whether he was free to decide for himself whether to teach or to stay in the Commune. He said: "Of course I decide for myself, but the Commune must also agree to take me."

MISCELLANEOUS MEMBERS drifted in and out and joined our talk. The total membership, they said, was nearly 40,000 including children and old people. The number of able-bodied workers was 13,000. When I asked how many families, Shen To said there were 8,823 households, but the Commune listed people now as individuals, because now every individual got paid for his own work, instead of paying the son's wage to the father and the wife's wage to the husband, as was formerly done.

It was clear at once, contrary to Dulles, that the Commune gives the individual for the first time his own wages and rights, whereas formerly he was a dependant in a feudal family.

To my question how they decided to form a Commune, Shen To stated: "The people demanded it." Everyone nodded. They said they had read in the papers about Communes in Honan and had sent delegates down to see them. (Note that they all read and write and can readily travel, which is something new.) They discussed it and people wrote *tadzebo* about it (these are strips of paper on which people write opinions in big letters and hang them in the streets). This continued until every member of the Commune had his views on record.

"The people wrote over 200,000 poems about Communes," said Shen To. Chou Kan added: "One of my tasks here is to classify these poems and bind them into books."

SHEN TO DESCRIBED the exact technique by which the Commune had grown out of the eight cooperatives. After the long discussion, in which every member put himself on record, only 20 to 30 people, mostly ex-landlords, were found to be against the Commune; 13,000 supported it. Each cooperative thereupon elected delegates to a general meeting, in proportion to the numbers in the co-op. The 320 delegates met, and elected a preparatory committee of 50.

THESE ARE THE ONES WHO WILL HARVEST THE DREAM

A Commune kindergarten under the trees of a quiet courtyard

The committee prepared a Plan of Amalgamation, which was discussed and accepted by the 320 delegates. Then they elected a Commune Committee of 30 members with eight chairmen, one from each cooperative. These met, divided the functions and added a few departments, until they had 11, which they called "ministries." Everyone in the room grinned self-consciously as they thus copied the national government. They thought it had a nice, important sound.

So they had a Ministry of Agriculture, run by the nice old Shen To, and ministries of Forestry, Livestock, Planning and Statistics, Finance, Provisioning, Culture, Health and Education—and even a Ministry of the Armed Forces which handled the local militia.

Each cooperative turned over to the Commune enough food from this year's harvest to feed its own members until May, when the first new rice comes in. Otherwise the cooperative was to handle its own budget for the rest of 1958; the Commune budget would begin with 1959. The exceptions to this were the food supplies which the Commune at once took over, and the "reserve funds" of the co-ops which also passed to the Commune. Shen To explained that when the co-ops were first organized they had to get loans from the state but that these had long ago been repaid and the co-ops all had surpluses. These totaled about 1,000,000 yuan ($400,000).

"What will you do with it?" I asked. "Have you a plan?"

They certainly did—a three-year plan, and I must see it that evening in their exhibition just about to open. The immediate needs were electrification of the entire area, especially the irrigation pumps, and the expanding of their chemical fertilizer plant. These two things would take most of the money but would be repaid in the increase of the new harvest.

AT THIS POINT I brought up the Dulles speech and asked what they thought of it. Some laughed, but the younger ones got angry. The older peasants were patient; one considered the Dulles statement carefully and then said: "I never scolded anyone in my life." He meant that he would not speak of Dulles, because then he must scold.

Old Shen To tried to reason with Dulles. He explained the advantages of Communes . . . their overall plan, their larger area and man-power which permits

From each man according to ability,
From each soil according to fertility.

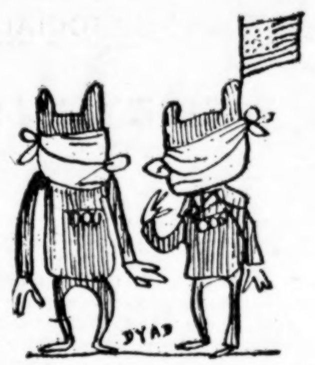
A bobbed-haired girl from the university spoke more sharply: "Dulles slanders us because he is afraid of our country. He wants to make people of the U.S. and of other countries blind."

A girl whose clothes showed her recent arrival from field work said emphatically: "Dulles says the Communists make us work a lot and eat little. This is just a lie. Before Liberation we were starving and now we eat more than we ever had."

I asked her age. Twenty, she said. Was she married?

"A month ago," she said shyly. She had moved to the young man's parental home, in the ancient manner, but she expected to have a home for the two of them, as soon as the Commune was built. "I think soon," she said.

"Do you want to cook at home or go to the public canteen?" I asked.



Dyad in London Worker

"Talk to the Chinese—but don't recognize 'em."

"I like the canteen," she said emphatically. "They have all kinds of dishes and without any trouble. Nobody likes to cook at home any more."

Free food for all members and their families is provided by the canteens of Evergreen Commune. The Commune also provides free maternity care, nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools for children, free "Happy Courts" for the aged, free films and drama and one-half of the members' medical bills. This still leaves a small surplus from the harvest, which is divided among the able-bodied workers according to the work they have done. This year the big achievement for all China is that, after centuries of underfeeding and hunger, almost all of rural China is voting itself "free food."

THEY TOOK ME to the exhibition, in a large barn-like structure, temporarily very gay with posters. In room after room I was overwhelmed by the size of prize vegetables and the even bigger statistics, and the utterly incredible size of future dreams. Irrigation had rapidly increased and now two-thirds of their arable land was irrigated. Next year, with the strength of the Commune, they would irrigate all of it with electric pumps. Fertilizer had increased from a quarter million tons in 1957 to a million and a half in 1958.

Facilities for community life included: 134 public canteens (most of them rather bare rooms, without water connections yet), 86 nurseries, 62 kindergartens, (most of these still in ordinary houses), 12 maternity homes and 6 Happy Courts (in which old men could play Chinese chess), 39 tailor groups with 132 sewing machines which would soon be making "free clothing for everyone."

I was especially impressed by a poster at the beginning and a table model at the end. The poster showed a stalwart man pushing back a mountain to let a river run through. It bore the words: "Let the mountain lower its head: let the river course be moved." I smiled as I thought of Dulles' words about "degrading human dignity." These were people who gave orders to their earth!

The table model showed Evergreen Commune as its members intended to make it by 1961. It was as near as a table model can get to being a dream of Paradise just outside Peking. It had an "industrial area," where 30 factories ministered to the needs of the farmers or processed their products; "residential areas" with apartment houses of three and four stories. Everything was surrounded by fruit trees and vegetable gardens increasing in yield each year. Culture was also going to improve so fast that everyone could go to college by 1961.

I AM NOT SURE that Evergreen Commune will get all it plans quite as fast as it hopes. But its members base their dreams on the power of their own labor. And their plans show that Dulles is so wrong in his basic philosophy when he says human beings have only two ways to change their material environment: either by "duress," which he claims is used in China, or by "consent," which he asserts is the way of the West.

Dulles never heard of the third way, much stronger than either "duress" or "consent." It is the way of a great people's initiative, when 600,000,000 people say with assurance: "Let the mountain lower its head; let the river course be moved." It is the way of men who command nature because they act as one.

BOOKS

Prof. Bernal depicts a world without war

PROF. J. D. BERNAL sums up our modern world in a picture of poverty-stricken India with its vast and largely useless cattle population becoming the biggest producer of bones in the world. Most of the bones go to the U.S., where they are made into glue and candy. Yet if factories were built in India they could use the bones to produce the phosphate fertilizers which India needs desperately for her backward agriculture and starved soil.

That is just one of the striking illustrations in his book, **World Without War,** published in London by Routledge, Kegan & Paul at $3.50.* Another is of the oil engineer who tried to work out the problem of wealth in California and poverty in Iraq by asking: What has California got that Iraq hasn't? And Bernal answers that the wealth of California stays there. The men and women living today on the banks of the Tigris, though they have the same natural resources, are worse off than their ancestors in the Garden of Eden because over the years their wealth has been taken away.

THE BOOK is a massive piece of work, packed with statistics and written by one of the world's leading scientists, who gives chapter and verse to prove that today humanity can defeat disease and poverty, that nuclear energy and the resources it can command have come just in time to wipe out the danger Malthus visualized of human population outstripping its food resources.

Bernal shows that even if the world population doubles, as it may well do, in a comparatively short period, there is no danger if the opportunities of science are seized: "Energy can now be made available in indefinite amounts and removal of the limits on energy is equivalent to infinite material wealth. Energy is now convertible into any kind of material we want."

The possibility is there, but today most of this scientific skill is being used to prepare for war. Bernal argues that the scientists have proved that the "benefits of using science for human affairs are so great as to make entirely pointless all the disputes about which wars have been fought in the past." On the other hand, they have provided conclusive proof that if the weapons now being piled up are used, it virtually means an end to civilization:

"As war gets more scientific, the effects of weapons becomes more calculable and the human element disappears. If we know the range, accuracy and firing power of the weapons on either side we can calculate the consequences. It is hardly worthwhile firing them to find out."

YET AS BERNAL shows, the conversion of industry for a world attack on poverty could be achieved with minimum changes in existing plant. The money spent in two years on arms could provide all the vehicles, machines and fertilizers, and then go on to industrialize all the undeveloped areas of the world. It could be done in 20 years, leaving plenty of resources to improve the level of production and the standards of living in the industrial countries.

That is the prospect, but today two billion people, or more than 70% of the human race, get less than the number of calories they need and "pestilence has been avoided only to make way for famine." Only 10% of the earth's surface is cultivated and only 6½% intensively cultivated.

Bernal postulates these conditions for a world capable of grasping the high hopes of the new age of nuclear power and automation:

The West must accept coexistence in the new situation science is creating. The rich countries, and particularly the U.S. must understand that they "cannot afford to be spendthrifts in a world of beggars." The days when a few rich countries could live by taking the raw materials and labor power from the poor countries, when the U.S. with only 9% of the population consumes well over half of the key raw materials of the "free world," are ending.

DEVELOPMENT of scientific advances in the socialist countries means that the underdeveloped countries are now able to get the means of creating their own wealth. In 30 years or so there will be several new industrial centers and widely developed subsidiary industries in the world. Scientific education, in which the Soviet Union leads, will inevitably change the world pattern.

But the resumption of unimpeded trade over the whole world would lead to demands for mechanical, electrical and chemical plant—witness the Soviet offer to buy chemical equipment to the value of several billion dollars—so that the dislocation caused by stopping the arms race could soon be overcome.

Bernal believes that the coming of socialism has released new forces:

"Much of what has been done in China in the last ten years could have been done at any time in the last 3,000 years with the same number of people, using the same tools. What was lacking was the spirit and the direction which only full socialism can give."

There will be many in the West who reject the author's faith in socialism. But they will not be able to challenge his basic conclusions. Science can transform the world, creating the conditions for a richer life for all humanity, or it can destroy humanity. The continuance of the arms race and the cold war can put back the hopes of a better life. They cannot stop the changes Bernal foreshadows.

—Gordon Schaffer

**WORLD WITHOUT WAR will be published in this country early next year by Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N.Y. Watch for announcement.*

Photo from "The Jews in the United States."

A service for Jewish soldiers during World War II

A history of the Jews in the United States

THE INTEGRATION OF THE JEW in the history of the U.S. has long been the special field of Morris U. Schappes, editor of **Jewish Currents** and author of the widely acclaimed **A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States.**

In his new book, **The Jews in the United States,*** he has presented the Jew's place in the nation's history with more than 400 photographs, reproductions of paintings, prints, handbills, cartoons.

The Declaration of Independence was mailed out with a covering letter in Yiddish by Jewish rebels. Jews fought and died for the Union at Gettysburg, Shiloh, Bull Run. But Jews shared the nation's failings as well as its heroism. Jewish partisans of slavery prayed for the Confederacy and Jewish soldiers fought for it while abolitionist August Bondi fought with John Brown in Kansas and other Jews rallied to the union banner.

The whole panorama of Jews and Jewish life from 1654 to the present, including the immigrants, labor leaders, comedians, singers, actors, writers—good, bad and indifferent—is handsomely presented pictorially and in fast-reading well-indexed text.

**THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, by Morris U. Schappes. Citadel Press, 222 4th Av., New York. 319 pp. $7.50.*

SYMPATHY BUT LITTLE UNDERSTANDING

An American takes a look at Indonesia

ARTHUR GOODFRIEND is one of the many Americans, traveling through or stationed in Asia, who have been disturbed by the increasing hostility towards U.S. policy and the rising prestige and popularity of Soviet and Chinese policy among Asians.

For two decades, as a businessman, a soldier, an ECA aid, a State Department consultant, Goodfriend had known Asians and spent considerable time among them. In searching for the reason why U.S. policy has failed, he realized he "didn't know the Asian people and never shared an Asian life from the moment of birth, through infancy, adolescence, maturity, to the coming of death."

With admirable determination to rectify this shortcoming, Goodfriend with his wife and two children spent a year in a small town in Indonesia on a Rockefeller grant.

THE TERMS of the grant were challenging:

"Live at the rice roots, among the farmers and workers. Mingle with the youth . . . See American policies and actions from their viewpoint. Share what you learn with the American people so that we may, perhaps, behave toward Asians with better knowledge of their nature, needs and hopes."

In **Rice Roots***, Goodfriend has tried to share with the American people his experiences and conclusions. Despite his evident sincerity, he has failed to contribute any fundamental analysis of Asian life and Asia's problems. His book lacks depth and understanding because he lived among the Indonesians but not as one of them; he had sympathy for their aspirations but his mind was cluttered with some basic concepts that, to him, were absolute and universally applicable.

He carried with him the conviction that American economic aid was benevolent and plentiful but clumsy, while Soviet aid was "cynical" and skimpy but astute; that communism was an evil from which Indonesians must be saved, though by their own efforts and not by the U.S. Unlike more mature Americans who have visited Asia, he refused to concede the Asians' right to choose communism or to explore why they might choose such a system, even if he found it intolerable.

AS A RESULT, his Indonesian Communists turn out to be cardboard characters, contrived and unreal. He describes Atmo, the only leader of young Communists he presents in his book, as "a lissome youth of almost feminine gracefulness," and comments: "Treachery and guile, it seemed, were the qualities Atmo most admired in Indonesia's heroes." He has Atmo misquote from the Hindu epic Mahabharata (not Ramayana, to which Goodfriend wrongly attributes the quote) and does not himself have enough knowledge to give the correct quotation.

Goodfriend is not unobservant. He notes the distorted concept of American life Indonesians get from the gangster films and crime and comic books with which they are deluged from the U.S. He observes how Asians, "so recently released from white, Western leadership," find America's claim to world leadership "intolerable." But he is unable or unwilling to inquire why the U.S. exports such stuff and claims such leadership.

AT THE END of the book the author gives an incredible description of "the commonplace qualities of our society" from which, he says, "the strength of America's economy was drawn":

"American industry recognized the consumer's importance as paramount. It carefully studied his needs, tastes, taboos. It lavished infinite care on their satisfaction. It synthesized consumer self-interest with its own. It showed endless concern for a peculiarly American science called 'public relations.' It rarely spent a dollar without anticipating some specific, constructive result. These same principles were reflected in management's relations with labor." These "commonplace qualities" Goodfriend advises the U.S. to bring to bear in Asia.

Rice Roots is an example of the fact that talent without tolerance of views disagreeable to one's self, sympathy without socio-economic understanding, and an observant eye without ability to penetrate below the surface produce an unsatisfying book despite good intentions.

—Kumar Goshal

**RICE ROOTS, by Arthur Goodfriend. Simon & Schuster, N.Y. 209 pp. $3.95.*

CIVIL RIGHTS HEARING

31 Negroes tell how they are denied the vote

By Louis E. Burnham

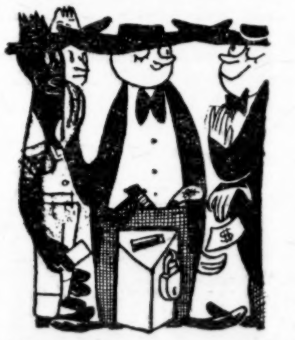
WILLIAM P. MITCHELL (R.) TELLS THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION HOW IT'S DONE
He describes the impossible requirements for Negro voters in Alabama

ON DEC. 8 George R. Morris sat in the Federal courthouse in Montgomery, Ala., 13 years and thousands of miles removed from the scene of his World War II duty. He recalled for members of the Civil Rights Commission that he had been awarded four bronze stars for bravery in action above and beyond the call of duty. Asked why he kept trying to vote, despite his rejection by Barbour County officials, he said: "I want to vote because my Army discharge was marked American citizen. And American citizens can vote. I want to be a citizen."

Morris was one of 31 Negroes who testified during the Commission's foreshortened day-and-a-half hearing into illegal voting practices in six Alabama counties. In addition to the story of the Negro complainants, the Commission sought the testimony and records of registration officials from all the counties: Dallas, Wilcox, Barbour, Bullock, Macon and Lowndes. But six county officers refused to appear; four were present but refused to be sworn in, and those who took the oath followed the advice of Attorney General and Governor-elect John Patterson and refused to answer questions.

ACTION IN COURTS: The Alabama officials' defiance prompted the Commission to call the hearing to an abrupt halt and refer the testimony to the Justice Dept. for further Federal action. Department lawyers moved quickly in the Federal courts and secured an order commanding all the subpenaed registrars and Alabama Circuit Judge George C. Wallace to appear with their voting records on Dec. 19.

Now faced with possible contempt citations and jail sentences for continued obstinacy, three balking registrars resigned their posts; others said they would appear and still others were noncommittal. Judge Wallace went on shouting Rebel yells at the Commission and Patterson turned to the law books in search of a legal escape clause.



TWO MAIN EFFECTS: Whatever the immediate outcome of the Commission's first field foray, there was no question about two long-term consequences:

- The widely-publicized hearings introduced millions of Americans for the first time to some of the tactics used to keep Negroes from the polls in the rural South.
- The recalcitrant registrars made out a perfect case for new laws to extend the life and expand the powers of the Commission. The civil rights body, authorized by Congress in 1957, is scheduled to expire on Sept. 9, 1959, and it has no power to seek enforcement of the laws whose violation is exposed by its investigations.

Even the fiercely-segregationist Montgomery **Advertiser** deplored "the somewhat antic, aimless acts of defiance by the officials" whose refusal to register Negroes it condones. "Whom the gods would destroy," it said, "they first make angry. We became angry."

12 TIMES IN 3 YEARS: The Negro witnesses included a college professor, college chaplain, minister, student, three housewives, four nurses, eight farmers, two secretaries, two teachers, a dietician, nurse's aide, retired teacher, tailor and an architect. Three had Ph.D. degrees, only eight had not gone beyond high school, all were property owners. All but one had been turned down as voters.

A retired school teacher from Dallas County had tried to qualify 12 times since 1955. In Bullock County, farmer Aaron Sellers had gone six times to the board of registrars, each time leading a group of other Negro applicants.

AND BABIES TOO: In two of the counties, Lowndes and Wilcox, there are Negro majority populations but no Negro voters. On the other hand, registration of whites in these counties is at a phenomenally high level. In 1956 there were in Lowndes County 195 more white voters than the 2,057 whites of voting age.

In Bullock County, with a Negro population of 11,000, only four are registered to vote. Similarly, in Barbour and Dallas counties a mere handful have qualified. Only in Macon County, of the six studied, are there as many as 1,000 Negro voters.

The Commission took pains to assure the South that its intentions were not unfriendly, even though the proceedings struck at one of the keystones of white supremacy. Former Gov. John S. Battle of Virginia noted: "None of you white citizens believe more strongly in segregation of the races than I do." Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State U., attested to the Commission's awareness of the "forward strides that have been taken throughout the South in recent years in admitting Negroes to the exercise of the voting franchise."

A 38-YEAR CAMPAIGN: The fact is that in the most recent years the Negro's drive for the ballot in the South has slowed to a crawl in spite of greatly intensified effort. An elaborate framework of restrictive suffrage laws was placed on the statute books of all the ex-Confederate states between 1890 and 1910. Gradually these laws—the "grandfather clause," poll tax requirements, white primaries—began to give way under the pressure of Negro protest, liberal white intervention, economic change and, most important, the world focus on the imperfections of U.S. political democracy brought on by two world wars.

As far back as 1920 Negroes, led by a Houston, Texas, barber, Richard R. Grovey, began attacking the white primaries which barred them from the only elections that counted in the South, the Democratic primary contests. Not until 1944 did the Supreme Court strike down the law. In the next three years the Negro vote vaulted from 200,000 to 600,000. By 1952 another 400,000 Negroes had gained the franchise. But since then, and especially following the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, the rate of increase has sharply declined.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM: Deep South politicians have boasted of their intention not only to stop the Negro vote at the city line as a means of maintaining lily-white domination of the tobacco, rice and cotton belt. Their aim is to push it back to its pre-1944 impotence in the urban areas as well.

If enough people decide that this is not a sectional problem, but one of great national importance, then they might take whatever steps are necessary to endow Southern Negroes with the ballot their citizenship requires. That would give some significance to the spotlight which the Civil Rights Commission turned briefly on Alabama.

The NATO parley

(Continued from Page 1)

be impossible to demand that the Red Army reoccupy East Berlin."

On the eve of the Paris NATO conference, top NATO officials were reported to be insisting that the West could not simply reject Khrushchev's proposals or threaten violent retaliation if the Soviets pull out of East Berlin. One American official was said to have remarked ruefully: "You cannot threaten a war because somebody is removing their troops from a place you want to stay in."

NATO's final communique confirmed the most pessimistic predictions. It rejected the Soviet proposals but offered no new ones. It merely repeated the West's previous proposals for German reunification on the basis of free elections. It announced that Bonn would be permitted to produce missiles and threatened that the NATO powers would use nuclear weapons to repel "Soviet aggression."

THE COMMON MARKET: Aside from Berlin, the conferees failed to reconcile their internal conflicts. France, with the support of West Germany, had rushed through the European Common Market; its first action will be effective Jan. 1.

On that date France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, will begin the eventual elimination of all tariffs on imports from one another by reducing them by 10%, and by lowering the quota of goods they will import from countries outside the Common Market.

Britain charged discrimination and appealed to Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer—not to Dulles—to persuade France to give up the Common Market in favor of a 17-nation European free-trade area. Italy's Premier Fanfani also appealed to Adenauer to mediate. Adenauer thus far has refused to commit himself.

CROSS OF DE GAULLE: Unresolved too were the Cyprus issue and Iceland's complaint against British violation of its off-shore waters, whose limit it has extended from three to 12 miles to protect its fishing industry—the nation's life blood.

The Cyprus issue was held in abeyance. Britain made a compromise offer to respect a six-mile limit off Iceland's shore; Iceland has not yet replied.

An added burden for Dulles was the Cross of Lorraine. Immediately on his arrival in Paris, a determined de Gaulle told him that France would not tolerate any missile bases on its soil, nor would it integrate its air force with the others in NATO. Gen. de Gaulle wanted to know why the U.S. had voted in favor of Guinea's membership in the UN and had abstained on the UN Algerian resolution instead of supporting France as before. He demanded a top NATO position for France next to the U.S. and Britain. The Dulles-de Gaulle talks ended in a deadlock.

THE OLD FOX: The NATO conference showed the increasing power and prestige of Adenauer.

- The U.S. was courting him for Bonn's army.
- France sought his economic support in developing the resources of the Sahara and credit in the European Payments Union in which West Germany has the largest credit accumulation.
- Britain wanted his help to keep the European market open for its goods.

Without committing himself in any way, Adenauer managed to get from his supplicants full support for his policy of no negotiations with the Soviet Union until West Germany was strong enough to dictate its own terms.

MIKOYAN'S VISIT: The news that Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan was coming to the U.S. in January, after the new Congress opens, spread a faint ray of hope that fruitful East-West negotiations may yet take place. Ostensibly Mikoyan is coming to confer with Soviet Ambassador Menshikov. As a foreign trade specialist, he will undoubtedly explore the possibility of expanding U.S.-Soviet trade.

But the alacrity with which the U.S. State Dept. issued him a visa and announced that of course arrangements would be made for him to meet high U.S. officials, indicates that he will also have an opportunity to explore means to relax East-West tensions, including perhaps, even a summit conference. Whether he receives a favorable response will, however, depend on added public pressure needed to unfreeze Washington's foreign policy.

How safe can you get?

I SAY without qualification that I am glad, in the present difficult situation, that we have Germany as an ally. She has become one of the pillars of the Western alliance, and the more efficient her armies, the better for the safety of Europe.

—**Duncan Sandys,** Minister of Defense, in a debate in Parliament, Dec. 4

Accra Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

row. Africa must not only be recognized and accepted but be reckoned with as a voice and a power. We are giving notice to the Colonial Powers and the world at large: Hands Off Africa—Africa Must Be Free."

PROGRAM OF ACTION: The Conference, however, was not content with resolutions and slogans. It called for definite action, and its first step toward action was the establishment of a permanent secretariat in Accra with the aim of co-ordinating political activity on a continent-wide scale.

Among the many resolutions passed, some deserve special mention, such as the one on Algeria asking for an immediate and peaceful solution through the intervention of the independent African states, the United Nations and negotiations with France.

The second most urgent problem placed before the assembly was the situation of the vast majority of South Africa's population. The Conference recognized the heroic fight carried on by South Africans, through passive resistance and civil disobedience, and agreed to furnish full moral and material support.

Aid would come, Mboya promised, in many forms, but also in the form of economic sanctions and a boycott of all South African goods. South African products, I believe, from now on will find a slim market on the African continent.

One of the most moving moments of the Conference came with the appearance on the platform of the South African delegation singing the freedom song of South Africa—**Africa - Come Back.** The singers counted among them two white members: Mary Louise Hooper, of the African National Congress, and the Rev. Michael Scott, who needs no introduction wherever African freedom is at stake.

ON NON-VIOLENCE: Two points which were raised repeatedly, especially by Western correspondents, were Africa's attitude toward white settlers and the conference's stand on non-violence.

On the settlers, Mboya made it clear that the Africans asked for an end to exploitation, which could be easily and peacefully achieved on the basis of universal suffrage: one man—one vote. "We are not vindictive," he said. "We are not going to practice race discrimination in reverse, but nowhere will we tolerate the rule of a European minority. It is up to them now. If they wish to cooperate, they will have nothing to fear; if they resist, they will only have themselves to fear—not us."

NKRUMAH (c.) WITH LEADERS OF THE ACCRA CONFERENCE
Their one-word message to all colonialism: "Scram!"

The Conference went on record in support of a policy of non-violence; but non-violence was not to be interpreted as passivity but as positive action. "The circumstances and the attitude of the colonial power in question," Mboya pointed out, "will determine whether or not a people is driven to violence; if it is, then it is surely acting in retaliation. We ask the Colonial Powers to cooperate from now on, for their attitude will determine all future relations between them and us. We have decided to be free—not in a year's time, not tomorrow, but now. We have our hands and shall use them; we have our brains and we intend to use them, too. We have an enormous potential of human and material resources at our disposal. We are not begging anyone to free us—this is our task and we will do it by ourselves. The whistle is blowing and we are on the march."

NKRUMAH'S SEND-OFF: The Conference, which six days earlier had been opened by Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah, was also given its final send-off by the man who has become a symbol of African independence. Dr. Nkrumah spoke not as the head of his government but as the leader of the CPP (Convention People's Party), the party which had brought freedom to Ghana.

In six days, almost every delegate and reporter had an opportunity to become personally acquainted with him; and if he had before been received with respect and admiration, he was now welcomed with love and affection.

Stressing the importance of the links forged in Accra, for the first time, between independent African states and the political and trade union leadership of those nations still struggling to be free, Dr. Nkrumah pledged the full support of the independent African states to all freedom fighters in hitherto dependent territories.

"Africa," he declared, "has demonstrated her ability to deal with her own problems. Africa is no appendix of Europe." Africans, he said, were always happy to accept help, and happier still to see other races live among them "on a basis of peace and equality." But Africa needed no political tutelage.

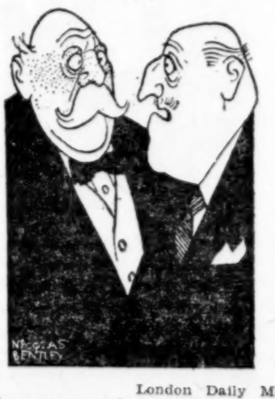
"This is our last and final notice," he declared, "to colonialism and imperialism. Our notice is: Scram! The next All-African Conference," he added with a smile that New York advertising agencies would pay a million dollars for, "will, I am certain, celebrate the imperialist retreat from Africa."

MAIN DEMANDS: Africa, he said, poses three main demands:

- National independence, for only through independence can the related evils of tribalism and religious fanaticism be combatted.
- The possibility of establishing an African community which will eventually lead to a United States of Africa—a road on which the first step was taken through the union of Ghana and Guinea.
- The opportunity of building socialism on African soil.

"We are determined to be free," Nkrumah concluded, "and no power on earth will again be able to deprive us of our freedom."

As the delegates sang and danced far into the night, Africans and their many friends who had gathered here from East and West, from Asia and Europe and the U.S., men and women of all races and colors, all were conscious of the historic moment in which Africa had taken a long step forward on Freedom Road.



London Daily Mail

"The nerve of it! What gives these chaps in West Africa the idea they've a right to start building an empire?"

Leukemia doubled

THE INCIDENCE of leukemia—cancer of the blood—has doubled in the last generation, according to reports given at an Australasian conference on radiation biology in Melbourne, Australia, early this month. Ionising radiation was named as the prime cause.

Evidence for that conclusion was found in the high rate of leukemia among the atomic bomb victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the increasing rate among people in the U.S. and Britain treated with radio-therapy.

The external radiation level was rising in the world, the scientists agreed, and internal radiation would increase as radioactive metals in food were taken into the body. They estimated that a major nuclear war would kill half the world's population and greatly damage the genetic inheritance of the survivors.

Eugene Moy dies at 52

EUGENE MOY, editor of **China Daily News,** progressive Chinese-language newspaper, died in New York on Dec. 14 at the age of 52. Moy was a founder of the paper which he edited for 18 years.

In 1956 Moy served a year in prison after being convicted under the Trading with the Enemy Act. The "crime": printing two advertisements from Hong Kong banks offering to help overseas Chinese send money to their families in China.

It became clear from the testimony and the line of the prosecution that Washington had ordered the trial because the **China Daily News** was the only Chinese paper published in the Western Hemisphere which supported the Peking government against Chiang Kai-shek. A fine of $25,000 was levied against Moy; it was paid by contributions from ordinary Chinese, most of whom were living close to the subsistence level themselves.

THEY UNDERSTOOD: On the day he went to prison, Moy said of the people who paid the fine:

"They understood the nature of the attack on me and the paper and they refused to see the paper die. The **China Daily News** will continue. It will continue to fight for world peace and friendship with the People's Republic of China. Nothing can kill the faith of the Chinese community that these principles will be achieved."

A gentle, sensitive man, Moy suffered greatly from his year in prison and never quite recovered from the knowledge that his adopted land, which he cherished, could be guilty of such an injustice against him and his right to dissent.

Funeral services attended by Americans and Chinese both were held in New York on Dec. 21. Moy is survived by his wife Ann, who is business manager of the **China Daily News.** The paper will continue.

NEW YORK

jules brenner
jewelry
silver-gold
127 macdougal st. or 4-0840
catalogue on request

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE:
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway—N.Y.C. 3, (11 St.)

FRANK GIARAMITA
& SONS TRUCKING CORP.
MOVING • RELIABLE
EFFICIENT • STORAGE
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av.
GR 7-2457

"BETTER BOOKS"
from "The World of Books"
at the
JEFFERSON BOOK SHOP
100 E. 16 St. New York 3.
GR 3-1782

DETROIT

GALA NEW YEAR'S EVE
CABARET PARTY
Sponsored by
I. Peretz Schule Parents' Club
O'CONNOR ORTHOGENIC SCHOOL
10235 W. 7 Mile Rd. opp. Griggs
Music for dancing by Al Martin's Orchestra
From 9 till ??
For res. call:
DI 1-3816

"Max, where are the cocktails?"
HAPPY
NEW
YEAR
CHAITS, ACCORD 1, N.Y.
Kerhonkson 3758. Open all year.

A Happy New Year to all our advertisers

RESORTS

ALLABEN HOTEL
Monmouth & 5th St., Lakewood, N.J.
JACK AND SERENA SCHWARTZ
Intimacy, refinement, modern. Free ice skating. Fabulous classical record collection. Library. Ent'mt. Shuffleboard. Jewish-Amer. cuisine. Lakewood 6-1222.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

NEW YEAR'S FREEDOM BALL CANCELLED BECAUSE DANCE HALL HAS BEEN PLACED ON MUSICIAN'S UNION "UNFAIR" LIST.

Catering to art appreciation and new collectors. Paintings. Prints. **MARGARET BURROUGHS GALLERIES** 3806 S. Michigan Av., Coachhouse. Open Sat., Sun. 1-5 p.m. Thurs. eve. workshop.

BERYOZKA DANCERS, from USSR in Chicago January 9-11. Sat. matinee added! Tickets and information from Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 32 W. Randolph. AN 3-1877.

MINNEAPOLIS

Have the time of your life at our **NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY** at Socialist Workers Party 322 Hennepin Av., Minneapolis, 9 p.m. until?????

LOS ANGELES

GALA NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY with Sydni Doring SINGING THE BLUES, Dancing, Buffet, Favors, Entertainment in a congenial and intimate atmosphere at 1702 E. 4th St., from 9:30 p.m. until? (on New Year's Eve—that's the 31st of December, that is.) — Don: $1.50. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK

The Bronx Sobell Committee presents **EARL ROBINSON** at their **NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY,** Allerton Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Buffet Supper, Dancing. For tickets phone (Manhattan) AL 4-9983; (Bronx) TR 8-6471. Subscription: $5 couple.

Spend gayest **NEW YEAR'S EVE DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT** featuring Carleton's celebrated orchestra and vocals. Wed., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. Excellent buffet supper. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av. (Bklyn). Cont. $1.75 in advance, $2 at door.

Registration opens Jan. 5 for our
WINTER TERM
20 new classes, incl. "World Today"
Mon. 8:30—**IDEAS IN OUR TIME**
with Herbert Aptheker
Tues. 8:30—**SOVIET DEMOCRACY**
with Leon Josephson
Wed. 8:30—**CHINA TODAY**
with Sue Warren
Thu. 8:30—**SOCIALISM & CAPITALISM**
with Victor Perlo
Mon. 6:45—**THE JEWISH QUESTION**
with J. M. Budish
and 15 others on **"American Life"**
and on **"Marxist Theory"**
Seven sessions, once weekly. Fee $6.
No more than 25 accepted per class.
Registration: 2-9 p.m. daily.
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
80 E. 11 (Bway) Rm. 227—GR 3-6810

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY
An evening of fun and cheer with music and good home-made Polish food. Spend a sociable evening in congenial and intimate atmosphere.
POLONIA CLUB
201 2 Av. Don. $1.50

Metropolitan Fraternal Club
MEMORIAL MEETING for
NAHUM POLAK
Fri., Jan. 2, 8:30 p.m. Friends will pay tribute. Rm. 9-B, Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av.

AMERICAN THEATER
238 E. 3 St. (bet. Av. B & C)
3 FEATURE FILMS
"Funny Face"—Fred Astaire, Audrey Hepburn (technicolor).
"The Space Children" & "The Vampire"
Special holiday adm. 50c day & evening
Children 25c.

CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

FOR A BEAUTIFUL YEAR!
1959 ART CALENDAR
Selected pictures by 13 Bay Area artists, clearly reproduced, with 160 historic and holiday dates. $1 per copy, 6 for $5, plus 10c postage. Graphic Arts Workshop, 271 Francisco St., San Francisco 11, Calif.

1,000 Name & Address labels, in reusable plastic case, only $1. Your name and address beautifully printed on quality gummed paper. Outstanding values on other personalized items on request. W. L. Whiteman Co., Dept. N. G., P.O. Box 6, Boston 1, Mass.

RETIRED PERSONS—for security, for good living, for companionship and for low cost, write R. F. Keaney, 5738 Maple Av., St. Louis 12, Missouri.

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS – LIFE-AUTO-FIRE-HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

Beacon of light

TORONTO, CANADA

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the one paper we cannot do without—it is a beacon of light and hope. Keep up the wonderful work for many more years.

Mrs. Beth Freedman

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N. Y.

CHICAGO

LECTURES ON USSR. Russian translated. Also Russian lessons by one who lived there 17 years. Charles G. Burroughs, 2806 S. Michigan Av. DR 3-6074.

RESORTS

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N.Y., via Thruway. Magnificent fall SCENERY. Heated room, fire-place, continental cuisine. Reserve for Xmas & New Year. Open all year. — Telephone Kerhonkson 8008-W.

SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Open all year. Restful, beautiful surroundings. Home cooking. City improvements. Y. Schwartz. Phone: Jeffersonville 290, or N.Y.C. OL 5-6971, evenings.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE. Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see.
SMILOW THIELLE
N.Y.C.—856 Lexington Av. (nr. 64 St.)
CY 8-6010
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av.
WH 8-4788

Make this a **GREEN Xmas!**
GREEN is the **MONEY you save at SBD**
$13.13 for a $29.50 Schick Shaver . . .
GREEN are the **HOUSE PLANTS at SBD,** from $1 to complete office and home installations; free consultation, design. **STANDARD BRAND DIST.,** 143 4 Av. (14 St.) GR 3-7819. One hour free parking.

GET THE MOST FOR THE LEAST
Antique & diamond jewelry, silverware —modern and antique. Repairing and remodeling.
CLARA & IRVING GAVURIN
22 W. 48 St (Rm. 1103) CO 5-1881

HELEN'S GIFT MART
Distinctive gifts for all occasions
at up to 50% discounts
287 Amsterdam Av. (bet 73-74 Sts.)
Helen Milgrim, prop. TR 3-8060

PIANOS - PIANOS - PIANOS
Large assortment of used & new pianos at prices below factories & stores. Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000.

Combination Storm-Screen Window
Glass and new sash work
Decorative window shades & blinds
Bamboo shades & drapes, cornices
Radiator enclosures—table pads
J. KOBLICK, GL 2-3024, NI 8-5148

HELEN'S CHINA OUTLET
Holiday Specials In
DOMESTIC & IMPORTED CHINA
at discount prices
304 Amsterdam Av. (bet. 74-75 Sts.)

SERVICES

TELEVISION & AIR-CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y.
CY 8-0420

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE

Written Guarantees — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

MARCEL PAINTERS
Private homes, apartments, business premises. Reasonable. Anywhere in five boros. — For estimate phone: Nunez, DE 6-2978.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

YOUR OLD FUR COAT WILL LOOK LIKE NEW if you remodel it at **MAX KUPERMAN,** 315 7th Av. Tel. OR 5-7773. You will also get good buys and $$ savings on new fur garments. Come in and be convinced.

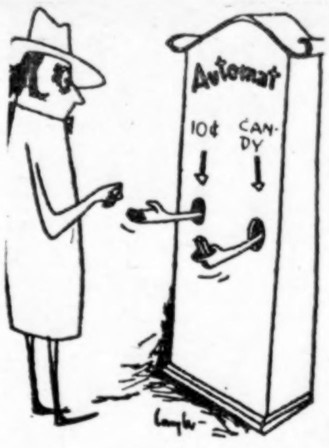
SOFA REWEBBED. Relined. Springs retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture repaired, remodeled. Custom Slip-Covered. Re-upholstered. Foam Rubber Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1
HY 8-7887 Fraternal Attention

CUSTOM CRAFTED UPHOLSTERY
RE-UPHOLSTERY, SLIPCOVER,
DRAPES, DRAPERY INSTALLATIONS.
Sofas, chairs re-webbed in your home.
Sam Stone, — OL 4-1044

NORMA CATERERS: ORDER NOW FOR NEW YEAR'S and WINTER PARTIES at home, hall or office. Hors d'oeuvres, meat trays, carved turkeys, etc., delivered anywhere in metropolitan area. — Phone: HU 7-1561.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Most coverage for least payment
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lexington Av., NY 17 MU 3-2837
Personal, business, fire, health, accident

AUTO INSURANCE
FOR THE RIGHT RATE CALL
RONNY SCHIFFRIN
6 Beekman St. CO 7-5654
All forms of insurance
Life, Fire, Theft, Accident, Health, etc.



Eulenspiegel, Berlin

ACE EXPRESS (formerly Jim's express)
Vans—Panels—Station Wagon
Bonded-Insured, 24 hr. service, $3.50, $4.50 per hour per man.
SU 7-7378.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers)
Moving, storage, local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hrs.) or IN 9-3431.

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years experience
Call Ed Wendell, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
economical, insured household moving. Vans, station wagons. Any place, any time.
THE PADDED-WAGON, AL 5-8343

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: CH 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans-pickup service anytime, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

CALVIN FORD
MOVING GENERAL TRUCKING
CALL ANY TIME
Estimates cheerfully given
OLinville 2-6795

UNWANTED HAIR REMOVED
Permanent
Private
•
Rapid
Latest Medical Method Appt. only
Laura Green CH 2-7119

INSTRUCTION

RUSSIAN AUTHORESS gives private lessons in primary, intermediate, advanced Russian and conversational Spanish. Modest rates. Call evenings, Nina Balanova, SP 7-4836.

Nosy Parker, Inc.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I have recently been making application for positions and encountering many questions having nothing to do with the ability, training or education which may be needed for performing the job. Recently the mail brought me the last straw. It concerns a "sales corporation" dealing in "athletic goods" (quoted from their letterhead). This one includes, besides the usual name, address, sex, whom to notify in an emergency, education and previous employer, etc., the following:

Proof of birth date; place of birth; citizenship; "have you naturalization papers? Have you applied for them?"; marital status; dependents; "Do you own a home? Do you rent? Board? Live with parents?"

I have often been tempted to leave such questions blank or write in "None of your business!" Years ago employers claimed they could not properly hire workers unless they knew their religion and national origin, but I think we have done reasonably well in building roads, houses, machinery—and even sporting goods—without that particular information.

I therefore urge you to use your good offices to endeavor to eliminate these non-related questions from employment application forms.

Aurora Prego

Ban the capitalists

GRANGER, WASH.

I am against the H-bomb or any and all bombs, but the real culprit is war and the decadent system that causes war.

To ban H-bombs would be playing into the hands of the capitalists. Then they could start war and feel safe.

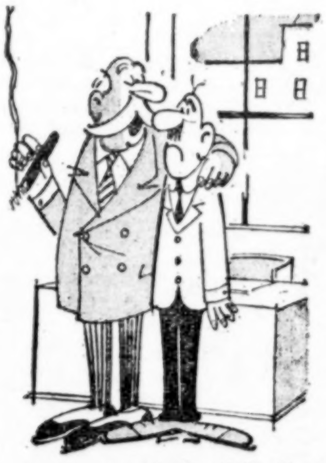
Eugene Smith

THE GALLERY

THE POWER OF ADVERTISING proved itself again in San Francisco where a bar did a record business after displaying this sign: "Beat the Xmas Rush. Drink Now." . . . The new terminal at Miami International Airport will have a prayer room at the order of the county commissioners who feel "there are still a lot of people using airplanes who are apprehensive about air travel." . . . A manufacturer is offering coffee dispensers for office use disguised to look like gray file cabinets. . . . Russian geneticists claim they can change a chicken's heredity through blood breeding. They say they have produced double-sized fowl by transfusing blood from large chickens, turkeys, and condors. It takes several generations for major changes to occur, but the Russians say it is faster than by mating birds of superior characteristics. The **Wall Street Journal** reports that "U.S. geneticists are skeptical, but will launch similar experiments shortly."

THE ARMY IS REJECTING one out of every four draftees for mental reasons under a campaign it calls "Job Performance Potential Program," known among GIs as "Operation Meathead." Already 70,000 soldiers have been discharged for being too slow-learning for the missile age. They are weeded out in a qualification test given to all soldiers. Those scoring 30 or more (maximum score is 100) are accepted; below 10 are rejected. The 10-30 group is re-tested. About half of these then flunk out. The Pentagon insists that modern weaponry demands nimble-witted personnel. If the "meathead" tests were given to officers or politicians, we might not need an army. . . . The Netherland's National Band of the Salvation Army will make its first U.S. appearance next year as part of New York's "Year of History" celebration. At last! . . . Two companies in Hollywood are offering "Bagel Holders" for people who have trouble slicing bagels. . . . William Mandel's radio program, **Soviet Press and Periodicals,** can now be heard over WYSO in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

WHILE THE U.S. PRESS was carrying on about Boris Pasternak, a ban was in effect by the U.S. Information Agency against **The Ugly American,** a best-selling novel critical of American foreign service officers. The ban was lifted quietly last month. . . . French universities recently approved Theodore Dreiser as an acceptable subject for graduate theses, but when students went to U.S. Information Service libraries for research, they found Dreiser's works banned on orders from Washington. . . . **Stamp News,** an Australian monthly for philatelists, is up in arms over the U.S. prosecution of New York stamp dealer Kurt Weishaupt for trading with the enemy. Weishaupt allegedly imported stamps from China. In an editorial the publication says: "That a government department should be in a position to tell citizens what stamps they should or should not collect is outrageous . . . It is a constant source of amazement to us that U.S. stamp editors have not taken up the challenge long ago."



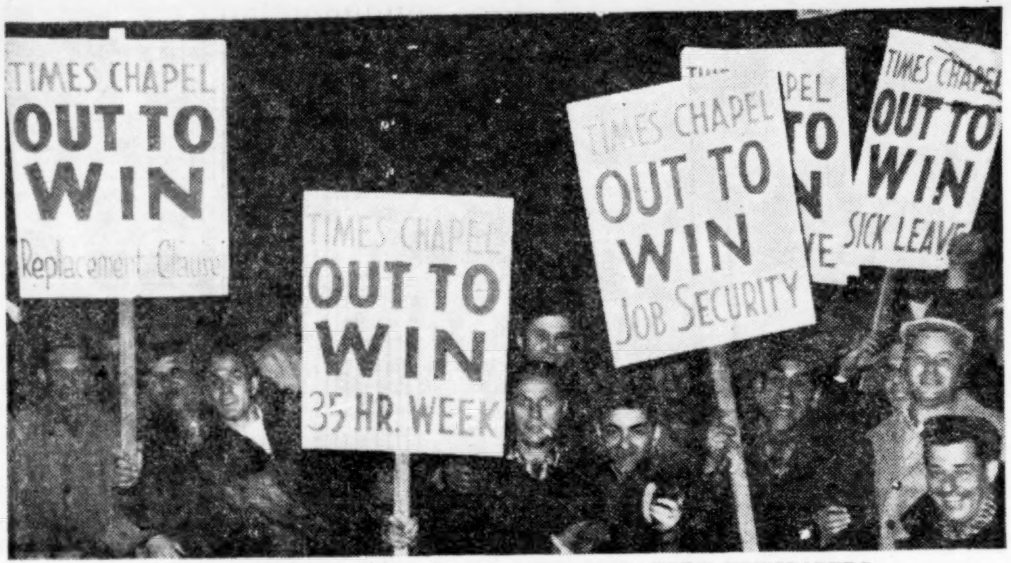
London Daily Mirror

"There won't be any more money for you in this promotion, Watkins—but you'll be getting your own waste paper basket."

HORSE-LOVERS IN ENGLAND have denounced as "undignified" a movement by the Queensland Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to make hats compulsory for horses working out of doors in summer. They say a horse with his ears sticking through holes in a hat "cannot help feeling ridiculous." . . . Sir Henry Braund felt ridiculous sitting bareheaded in Burton County Court in England last month. He is a judge of the court, and a thief stole his wig. . . . Highlight of BBC's Christmas Day broadcasting was a half-hour concert by Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown. . . . British schoolgirls are being taught the three Fs—fashion, face creams and foundations—through educational films produced by cosmetic and clothing manufacturers. . . . Cyrus English, a policeman in Irvington, N.J., was standing in his information booth when Esther Van Moppes drove up and asked for directions. After being fully briefed on how to get where she was going, Miss Van Moppes thanked the cop, backed up her car and smashed the information booth.

MARY SIMPSON, known as the Elsa Maxwell of the pet world, has an ambition: she wants to throw a beach party for horses. "A beach is an ideal place for such a party," she says. "Horses love the surf, but most of them rarely get to visit a beach." Miss Simpson has fashioned herself a career as the world's only pet party consultant. She says: "People enjoy doing special things for their pets on special occasions—such as their birthdays. But many don't know how to make a party come off." That's where Miss Simpson comes in. For a fee, she goes over the guest list, advising what kinds of pets mix well. She also selects the clothes each pet should wear. "A boxer," she says "looks just right in a light green flannel car coat. But a sport jacket wouldn't do at all for a fashion-conscious poodle." Miss Simpson also organizes games for the party and is expert on what kind of gifts the pets like. She thinks "the best present for a bird is another bird." Before you give Miss Simpson the bird, she reminds that "the supermarkets now sell more dog food than baby food." . . . The American Medical Assn. **News** says: "A dollar does less for us today because we do less for a dollar."

—Robert E. Light



THESE STRIKERS SHUT DOWN NINE NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS
Union pickets tell their story with placards (see Spectator)

'EQUALITY OF TREATMENT' URGED

Prominent individuals urge end of Denver Smith Act prosecution

THIRTY-FIVE leading citizens, it has been announced by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and A. J. Muste, Presbyterian clergyman and Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, have joined in a petition urging Atty. Gen. William E. Rogers to dismiss further prosecution in the Denver Smith Act case involving seven defendants.

The signers, acting as individuals, include Clarence E. Pickett, Secy. Emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee; Huston Smith, Prof. of Philosophy, Mass. Institute of Technology; Roland E. Wolseley, Prof. of Journalism, Syracuse U.; Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner and Professor, Cal. Institute of Technology; Merrill E. Bush, Headmaster, Friends' Central School, Philadelphia; Stringfellow Barr, Prof. of Humanities, Rutgers U.; L. Harold DeWolf, Prof. of Systematic Theology, Boston U.; George M. Gibson, Prof. of Homiletics, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; and Benjamin F. McLaurin, official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, New York.

The petition points out that the conviction in the Denver case was reversed by the Court of Appeals, and that most of the other cases reversed after the Supreme Court decision in the California Smith Act case "'have already been dismissed upon Dept. of Justice motion."

The petitioners suggest that if there is a new trial, the taxpayers will be put to needless heavy expense since it is "most unlikely that any conviction which might result . . . would be upheld by the Appellate Courts under the doctrine of the [California] Yates case."

Smith Act trials of this type, the petition says, "have an adverse effect on freedom of association and belief" and it points out that the defendants "who no longer live in Colorado and are in straitened circumstances," along with their dependents, would be subjected to "an intolerable financial burden" by a new trial.

"Equality of treatment" with defendants in other such cases which have already been dismissed by the Dept. of Justice is urged upon the Atty. General.

GBS annual report

THIS IS THE THIRD SUCCESSIVE year we have been able to say: Thank you for making this the biggest and most profitable year in our history. The fact is we sold more items to more people than ever before. Your patronage has been extremely helpful in building the GUARDIAN's sustaining fund. And, for our part, we hope we have supplied you, at discount prices, with things you wanted and enjoyed.

During the next year we expect a new and interesting selection of items. We have some new recordings by new artists we know you will like. Our vitamin copy-writer has returned from an International Inositol Plenum loaded with sober and amusing hints on health. His current project is to evolve a proper corporate image of us to present to you; but that, of course, is an open-end problem we'll have to shuttlecock around at our next board meeting.

Happy New Year!

Guardian Buying Service

NEWSPAPER

LOS ANGELES

List your property with us!

- Homes - Income
- Expert Service
- Buyers with Cash
- Multiple Listings

Franchi Realty
706 No. Harvard Blvd.
L. A. 29 NO 3-9561

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS
WM. L. GOLTZ and Staff
Now At New Location:
6221 Wilshire Blvd.
Wilshire Medical Arts Bldg.
Street Floor
LOS ANGELES WEbster 5-1107
Between Fairfax & Crescent Hts

Moving to California?
RAPHAEL KONIGSBERG
Real Estate Counselling
Home & Income Properties
R. A. Chaikin 3855 Wilshire Blvd.
Broker Los Angeles 5, Cal.
DU 11059 NO 34874

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway, Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

EXPERIENCED GARDENER
SHADE & FRUIT TREES PRUNED
HIGH GRASS CUT
MACK Gilbert 8-2832

the SPECTATOR

Unprintable words

AN INCREDIBLE THING happened in New York in the weeks before Christmas: millions of New Yorkers riding the subways had nothing to look at but each other. They survived the shock of recognition.

The situation was produced by a strike of the Union of Newspaper and Mail Deliverers on Dec. 9 which left 8,000,000 residents of the city without the usual 5,700,000 daily copies of nine newspapers (two of them on Long Island). The strike was called after the publishers refused the union's demands for higher wages, a shorter work week, more holidays and lighter bundles, and the union membership turned down a lesser deal accepted by their leaders.

It caused the furlough of 17,000 of the city's 20,000 newspaper workers with a weekly payroll of $2,000,000. For the seven city dailies it meant a loss of about $10,000,000 weekly in pre-Christmas advertising and $3,000,000 in circulation revenue. For the newsprint dealers it meant a loss of a holiday week sale of 14,000 tons at $134 a ton—plus the regular daily runs.

WHAT THE STRIKE DID to pre-Christmas business was harder to tell. The department stores reported big sales because the customers knew they were well-stocked; but the small specialty shops took it in the neck because they could not advertise. Radio and TV reaped a harvest in department store spot announcements, and singing commercials beat on metropolitan eardrums without mercy. S.Klein-on-the-Square pasted 30,000 billboards in hundreds of subway trains; sandwich men paraded midtown with bargains, and the theaters and movie houses had sound trucks prowling the streets with their wares.

The big employment agencies were hard hit without their classified ads. They reported a business drop ranging from 25% to 98%. One agency reported: "We've got nearly 200 office jobs waiting for someone to apply." Another had 30 technical and engineering jobs going begging.

ONLY THE N.Y. TIMES, which prides itself on being a newspaper of record, kept its full editorial staff working. Each day it went through all the motions of putting out a paper: copy, headlines, dummies, etc. But they were sent to the morgue instead of the composing room. When the strike is over the **Times** will print a condensed edition, with two pages of news for each day it did not print. Meanwhile it set up a news desk to supply copy to 17 radio and seven television stations which stepped up their news coverage. But it was a rare story that knocked a cowhand off the Western-studded TV screens.

If the strike proved anything it was that New Yorkers are devoted to the printed word. They snatched everything they could lay their hands on. The newsstands that remained open ran out of news and feature magazines as soon as they hit the stands. Crosstown bus riders were seen with an occasional copy of the New Orleans **Times-Picayune** or the Denver **Post** bought at out-of-town newspaper stands in Times Sq. The GUARDIAN doubled its usual newsstand sales; the fact that most stands had closed down prevented a wider distribution.

The **Hobo News** was hawked on Park Avenue. The Harvard **Crimson** was sold by students near Grand Central; unlicensed, the student-newsboys got around the law by giving the paper away and asking for contributions. New York University students put out special editions with wire service copy. Spanish-language dailies printed English sections. The New York Central and Long Island railroads handed out mimeographed news sheets to their riders (the Central hit a 50,000 peak one day); Schrafft's gave out bulletins with their cream cheese on date-and-nut bread sandwiches. Copies of the **Wall Street Journal** were stolen from in front of office doors.

At the Stork and El Morocco an ex-society writer for the **N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun** leaped into cafe society's breach with a mimeographed roundup of such breathless items as this: "Barbara Hutton's solid golden son Lance Reventlow, contrary to what you read just before the strike, has no intention of marrying starlet Jill St. John." Other bulletins were issued around town on the fate of comic strip characters. Sample: "Smilin' Jack and Don Juan helpless in sea storm. Steve Canyon taking off after Savannah's husband in mid-air."

AS OF THE LAST DAYS before Christmas, the situation was a mess. The bargainers in the strike talks were far apart; Newspaper Guild and craft workers were angry at being laid off; businessmen were screaming for help from City Hall, the Governor's Mansion and the White House; and the public was going around with empty eyes.

In the warehouses, hundreds of thousands of copies of Sunday supplements were piling up, waiting for that awful Sunday when the strike would be over and they could be slipped as extras into already obese Sunday editions.

But in the great city, as the sad Santas in Herald Square tolled their plaintive bells, and the cracked carols floated over Union Square, there was one note of cheer. It was the report of Sanitation Commissioner Paul Screvane: "Litter collections off 25%."

—James Aronson